The Outlook

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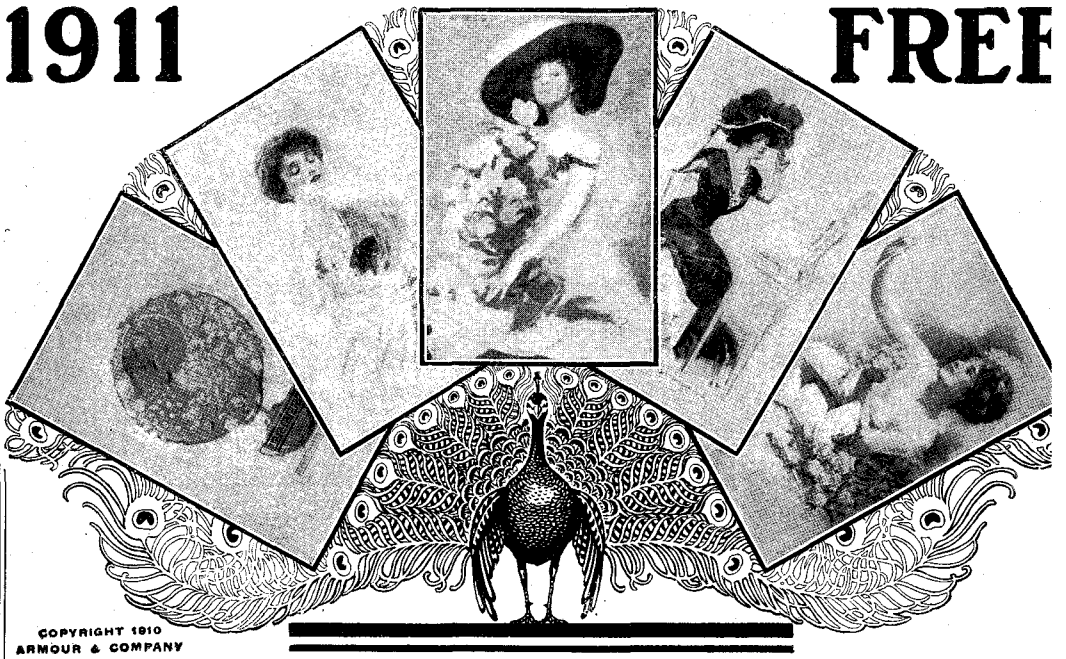

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The Outlook

NOVEMBER 5, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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Contributing Editor

WOODROW WILSON

That the great issue in the present campaign in practically every State of the Union overlaps party lines is illustrated by the remarkable contest which Dr. Woodrow Wilson is making in the State of New Jersey. Although running as the candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket, Dr. Wilson is in New Jersey not only the representative but the champion of the progressive movement. He has proved to be an effective campaign speaker, eschewing personalities and aiming to convert his audiences to his views by the plain statement of facts and by simple reasoning. Dr. Wilson is well known as a political philosopher, but, as the late William James was said to write philosophy like a novelist, so Dr. Wilson talks philosophy like a man of affairs. He has a quiet but pungent sense of humor, and he makes it perfectly clear that any political principles which deserve the slightest attention from men of intelligence lie, not in the realm of abstract theory, but in the field of practical human action. Although he is a man of the highest intellectual attainments, Dr. Wilson is not, to employ the useful term current among college undergraduates, a "highbrow." He is carrying on a debate by letter with Mr. George L. Record, Progressive Republican candidate for Congress. Mr. Record recently asked him nineteen questions. Last week Dr. Wilson answered these questions perfectly frankly, most of them by means of the simple words "yes" or "no"—a refreshing method of direct reply which has not always characterized political debates in the past. Dr. Wilson's answers put him on record as being in favor of the election of United States Senators by popular vote; of the nomination of all officers by direct primaries, the primaries being under the control and regulation of the courts; and of the physical valuation of the property of all public utility corporations, and the taxing of such corporations with this valuation taken as the assessment for taxation. As to the corrupt partnership between special interests and political bosses, Dr. Wilson speaks as follows:

> Its existence is notorious. I have made it my business for many years to observe and understand that system, and I hate it as thoroughly as I understand it. You are quite right in saying that the system is bi-partisan; that it constitutes "the most dangerous condition in the public life of our State and Nation to-day," and that it has virtually, for the time being, "destroyed representative government and in its place set up a government of privilege." I would propose to abolish it by the above reforms, by the election to office of men who will refuse to submit to it and who will bend all their energies to break it up, and by pitiless publicity.

It will be seen that Dr. Wilson, Democratic nominee for Governor of New Jersey, and Mr. Stimson, Republican nominee for Governor of New York, represent the same reforms and stand practically upon the same platform. In our judgment, the same reasons should lead to the support and election of both men.

AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN NEW YORK

During the campaign in New York, Mr. Stimson, the Republican candidate for the Governorship, has asked his Democratic opponent, Mr. Dix, to answer certain questions. Among them are the following:

> Do you still favor the repeal of the Public Service Law, as your platform did two years ago? Do you think that law unreasonably

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regulates public service corporations, as your platform intimates to-day? If so, in what respect does it do so? Will you pledge yourself, in the appointment of new Public Service Commissioners, not to consider the recommendations of Charles F. Murphy or Tammany Hall?

No more important specific issue will come before the voters for decision in the election than this concerning the regulation of public service corporations. Under the present law, public service corporations—such as railways, traction companies, electric light and telephone companies, and the like—are under the regulation of two Commissions. The State is divided into two districts, and the work is apportioned to the two Commissions mainly on geographical lines. The law was passed only after it had encountered strong opposition from many public service corporations; and it has been, as indicated in Mr. Stimson's questions, subjected to attack by the Democratic party in the State. The most effective argument that was used against the measure while it was under consideration in the Legislature was to the effect that it placed great power in the hands of the Governor. The regulation of public utilities, under this law, depends upon the character of the Commissioners. If they are able, honest, and disinterested, the regulation will be efficient and free from corruption; but if a Governor is elected who should, through carelessness or bad influence, choose corrupt or weak Commissioners, both the State and the corporations would suffer. The answer to that argument was plain; it remains with the people to decide whether they will elect such a Governor: if they do, they will suffer; if they do not, they will have the control effective as they could not possibly have it otherwise. We cannot enjoy the benefits of self-government without incurring its dangers. In electing their Governor next week, the people of New York, therefore, will decide as to the character of the Public Service Commissioners. The new Governor will have the appointment of four Commissioners, for the term of a member in each Commission will expire in each of the two years of his administration. Mr. Stimson has placed himself squarely in favor of the present law; and his efficiency has been proved. Mr. Dix has, so far, said nothing about the law; and his ability in administration is unknown.

MR. DIX AND THE WALL PAPER TRUST

The Outlook last week referred to Mr. John A. Dix as "a candidate with no court record in relation to big business save that of connection with the Wall Paper Trust." This connection Mr. Dix specifically denies. He admits that a corporation known as the Standard Wall Paper Company made a contract for the delivery of its output to the Continental Wall Paper Company, which is the Trust which was declared by the United States Court to be a complete monopoly devised to accomplish the stifling of competition, and certain to bring about an "enhancement of prices limited only by the boundary of human greed and corrupt avarice." But he declares that after the suit was brought, in which the Trust was thus characterized by the Court, the Standard Wall Paper Company "was dissolved and went out of existence," and, in the same year, another "Standard Wall Paper Company" was organized which bought the plants and manufactured goods of the old Standard Company, and that he first became connected with this second company in 1906, and a director in the company in 1907. And he adds:

> I repeat now with all the emphasis at my command my previous assertion that I am not connected directly or indirectly with any Wall Paper Trust, never owned directly or indirectly any of the stock or securities of the Continental Wall Paper Company, and never owned directly or indirectly any of the stock or securities of the Standard Wall Paper Company which was a defendant in the action tried before Judge Turton.

Apparently the new Standard Wall Paper Company was simply a reorganization of the old Standard Wall Paper Company, composed, in the main, of the same persons, and reorganized to enable it to go on with its business without coming into conflict with the judgment of the Court as to the Trust. It is said to be made clear by the certificate of its incorporation that it was formed to purchase the plant, business, and assets of the company which was dissolved and which it superseded, and four of its incorporators are said to be the four men who signed the last annual

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report of the first Standard Wall Paper Company. Mr. Dix's reply to the charge that he was identified with the Trust is definite and explicit. But it leaves two questions unanswered: First, Did the reorganized company work in real and vital competition with the concerns that had constituted the Trust, or did it keep up the prices established and maintained by the Trust? Second, What relation, if any, would the new company have had to the Trust if the Trust had been sustained on appeal to the higher court? The answer to that question is thus given by Mr. E. P. Prentice, the Chairman of the Republican State Committee:

> If the second company did purchase the plant, business, and assets of the first company, as it was set forth in the certificate of incorporation, and which I understand Mr. Dix does not deny, then the second Standard Wall Paper Company would, if the decision in the Voight case had been in favor of the Continental Wall Paper Company, otherwise known as the Wall Paper Trust, have shared in the profits of the Trust. Mr. Dix, by his own admission, has been a stockholder and director of the second Standard Wall Paper Company since June 7, 1907.

We have now put all the facts before our readers which have been given to the public. While we do not see how, on these facts, as far as now made known, Mr. Dix can be held responsible for the Trust so severely condemned by the Court, his connection with the reorganized company, especially if it is true that it would have been entitled to a share in the profits of the Trust had the Trust been sustained, does not indicate the kind of hostility to illegal combinations which is indicated by Mr. Stimson's record, and which we think the people of this State have a right to desire, under the present industrial conditions, in the Governor of the State.

CAMPAIGN METHODS

Most of the recent State campaigns have been distinguished by a change from the old-fashioned campaigning of our fathers. Indeed, one accustomed to the torchlight processions of the campaigns in which Mr. Blaine was a prominent figure might have considerable difficulty in finding himself as much exercised emotionally as he was then. In truth, the country has passed from the emotional to the intellectual stage. The sign is evident in the small use of processions, parades, bands of music, and red fire. Seldom has one seen any man wearing a button with the name and picture of his favorite candidate on it. Seldom has one seen the formerly familiar flags and banners spanning the streets, and even the portraits of the candidates for office and flaming posters on the walls and fences are not scattered broadcast as they once were. It is presumable that a contributory cause for this change of things is that the campaign contribution laws are more or less closely followed, and that there has not been as much money for use as in former years. In place of the old popular appeal there has been the introduction of another kind. It has been brought about largely by the newspaper, and also to a certain extent by the automobile. The circulation of periodical literature has vastly increased, and the extension of the rural free delivery brings the daily paper to the farmer's door with gratifying regularity. As a result, there has not been any necessity for farmers and others to struggle to get to distant political meetings. This does not mean, however, that the day of political meetings has passed by. Far from it. The automobile has only increased the opportunity for those meetings; and we have seen in the various States the candidates for the Governorship and other offices taken from place to place by automobiles more effectively than ever the railway carried them. For the automobile is a much more elastic institution, and often enables candidates to go to points not touched by the railway. The automobile conveys the candidate along the country roads, where he is an object of interest to the farmers right on their own farms. We need go back no further than the campaign of 1896, when Mr. Bryan made his first sensational "run" for the Presidency, to realize the change from the emotional side of campaigning to the more generally educative method, and we may be glad for the change.

THE NEW YORK POLICE IMBROGLIO

The Police Department of New York City has once again been subjected to a thorough overhauling at the top. The Police Commissioner, Mr.

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Baker, who was appointed by Mayor McClellan a few months before the close of his term, and who was retained by Mayor Gaynor, has resigned. In his place Mayor Gaynor has appointed as Police Commissioner a Brooklyn lawyer, Mr. James C. Cropsey. Two Deputy Commissioners have also been replaced. This overturn in the Police Department has followed a condition of affairs that has been recognized as increasingly demoralizing. It will be remembered that about a year and a half ago Mr. Gaynor, who was then a Supreme Court Judge in Brooklyn, wrote a letter to Mayor McClellan protesting against what he regarded as the high-handed methods of the police. The particular case on which Mr. Gaynor based his protest was that of a young man who after arrest had been photographed without being convicted of any crime. As a result of this protest and the stir that it created, Commissioner Bingham, who had been very efficient as head of the Department, was summarily dismissed and replaced by a young politician, Mr. Baker. In his campaign for the Mayoralty Mayor Gaynor emphasized the police issue. At that time The Outlook pointed out the danger involved in Mr. Gaynor's attitude of dealing with the police abuses by discrediting the police. Mr. Gaynor was elected, and, on entering upon his duties, made it clear that he was to give his personal attention in an unusual degree to the police. Indeed, it was well known that, more than any other Mayor in recent times, he assumed direct responsibility for the conduct of the Police Department. During these months The Outlook has waited the result of his policy. It has suspended its judgment until the Mayor had a chance to show whether his methods were right or not. In August Mayor Gaynor was shot, and for the better part of two months was unable to give his personal attention to police matters. During his absence from the City Hall the Acting Mayor, Mr. Mitchel, took action which drew public attention to the disorder and unchecked crime that are a disgrace to the city. The facts made public by this action indicated that the Mayor's methods had broken down. Further confirmation of this appeared when the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Bugher, in giving the reasons for his resignation, declared that he could not retain his position with self-respect. Little or nothing is known of the new Commissioner. It is, however, noteworthy that the Mayor informs him, "I shall hold you responsible." We hope that Mayor Gaynor's letter to his new Commissioner means that he recognizes the impossibility of the Mayor's giving personal attention to the details of the Police Department, and the necessity of reposing authority in the head of that department and then holding him accountable for results. At the same time it is to be remembered that the primary object of government is to protect life, limb, and property, and to suppress disorder and crime. The Police Department is by no means a perfect instrument to use for this purpose. But it is the Mayor's duty to make the best use of the instrument that he has. If he fails in this respect, he fails in that which is elementary.

THE NEW YORK CITY BUDGET SHOW

During the month of October there was to be seen in New York City for the first time a Budget Show financed by the city government. The similar exhibition last year was financed and conducted by the Bureau of Municipal Research, a group of men who have been studying the departments of the city government, finding out how each department's business was conducted, and how it spent the money allotted to it. For this is what a budget means—the allotment to various departments of the city government of the amounts of money which they may spend during the ensuing year. As the city had appropriated $25,000 for the expenses of this year's exhibit, it was fitting that city officers should take a prominent part in the exhibition. The city officers constituting the Committee on Budgetary Publicity are: the Hon. George McAneny, President of the Borough of Manhattan; the Hon. William A. Prendergast, Comptroller, and the Hon. John Purroy Mitchel, President of the Board of Aldermen. Every day city officials addressed the visitors to the exhibit, Mr. Prendergast in particular informing them that the object of the budget framers was to reduce everything to a scientific cost

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basis. "We will then have a scientific basis for budget-making. We are going to see that the work in this city is efficiently carried on, and that fair salaries are paid; but we are not going to allow one dollar to creep into the budget that does not belong there." These principles are precisely those actuating President Taft in his recent institution of an Efficiency-and-Economy Commission to investigate the working of the various departments at Washington. There are many more departments in New York City, and each wishes to get ample money supplies from the Board of Estimate and Apportionment with which to carry out its particular administrative programme. The money comes from the taxpayers. Hence each taxpayer has a direct interest in learning whether his money is spent wisely or not. He has such a direct interest, indeed, that about two hundred thousand interested taxpayers attended the budget exhibit every week during October. Prospective taxpayers were there too. In one afternoon as many as twenty thousand school-children flooded the old building in Broadway in which the exhibit was arranged. Another year we hope it may take place in better quarters. In the present quarters there was such a lack of ventilation as to make fastidious folk feel faint. The interest in each particular department, however, was so great as for a time at least to cause one to forget personal discomfort. The child's attention was quickly engrossed by the moving pictures thrown on a screen to illustrate the workings of this or that departmental feature; the grown-up's attention was as immediately occupied when he discovered that the Public Service Commission was ready to take his name and address, right there and then, and investigate for him without charge whether his gas-meter works correctly or not; or that the Department of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity could show him how he could secure two-thirds more light at one-half of the present cost of his gas.

THE EXHIBIT'S APPEAL

The women visitors—and they were legion—were interested in the Health Department's showing the fight it is making to secure pure milk for New York City, especially in the photographs exhibited of the dairy farms from which the milk comes. Every one looked at the hospital exhibit, particularly at the model of the new Bellevue Hospital, one of the finest in the world. In the Department of Charities exhibit was shown some beautiful furniture made by the feeble-minded children of Randall's Island. This department also showed by models and photographs how it has waged war on tuberculosis. From this it was a natural step to the Tenement-House Department exhibit, with its photographs and models of new and old tenements, also a life-sized model of the newly authorized fire-escapes. But everything, certainly to the younger visitors, was secondary to the exhibit in the Fire Department of the old fire-horse Brentwood, a fine animal still, despite his twenty-two years. If the visitors thus had recollections of the vivid side of running a city government, certain statistics may also remain in their minds—as, for instance, that the Street Cleaning Department reclaims every year two hundred thousand dollars' worth of salable material from rubbish and ashes, and has put into operation a snow-plow which, though operated by only one man, does the work of fifty; or that the city uses 540 million gallons of water a day. Hence, when taxpayers hear that $22,000,000 is being spent for cutting a rock tunnel under the Catskills, as well as $4,000,000 for increasing water supply and detecting water waste, they may not think these sums extraordinary. The total expense for water is the largest item in the budget; it reaches nearly a hundred million dollars. The next largest item is that for public work on streets and roads; it exceeds ninety millions; of it, more than a third is spent on sewers. The cost in these departments, increasing with the city's rapid growth, is also shown in the Department of Education, which now consumes nineteen per cent of the total, instead of the sixteen per cent of other years. The result of all is that the item of payment of interest on loans in the city's total yearly expenditures has in twelve years jumped from eighteen to twenty-nine per cent. Despite this increase, however, the cost of the protection of life and property has lessened, the drop being from twenty-three to eighteen per cent. When we see

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that the total expenses of New York City have increased from $163,000,000 last year to $171,000,000, the estimate for the next year, we need not jump at the conclusion that such vast sums necessarily represent any illegitimate expenses. Five minutes spent at the Budget Exhibit should have convinced any one that it takes millions of money to operate a vast governmental enginery like that of New York City, an enginery greater in power and cost than the government of any State. On the other hand, the taxpayer should have an equal sense of the necessity for economy. This will, we believe, be characteristic of the government of the metropolis if the budget exhibits are continued. We should have the continual exhibit, as Mr. McAneny suggests, of a Municipal Museum, the educative and moral import of which can hardly be overestimated.

THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

Every year for the past twenty-eight years, at the invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, a group of people have assembled at Lake Mohonk, in the Shawangunk Mountains, Ulster County, New York, to consider questions pertaining to the welfare of the American Indians. For the last decade or so this group of people, varying somewhat in personnel from year to year, have considered also the problems confronting the other dependent people of the United States—the people of Hawaii, of Porto Rico, of the Philippines, and of the little island of Guam. It is unquestionably largely due to the study stimulated and the conclusions reached by these conferences that the Government of the United States has adopted its present Indian policy. Last week The Outlook reported briefly some of the more important features of this year's Conference so far as it related to Indian affairs. The later deliberations of the Conference, concerning the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, were no less important. In fact, perhaps the most important subject that came before the Conference was the question as to the use to be made of the so-called Friar Lands in the Philippines. The public lands of the Philippine Islands are of two sorts. Those lands that were owned by the Spanish Government before the War of 1898 became the property of the United States Government. These lands are now known as public lands of the United States. There were other lands held by certain religious orders. These lands remained the property of those orders until they were purchased, as the result of negotiations carried on between the Vatican and the Philippine (not the United States) Government. Since that purchase, these so-called Friar Lands have been held, not by the United States Government directly, but by the Government of the Philippines. Regarding the public lands of the United States in the Philippines, the law is very stringent. It is, for example, contrary to the law for any corporation to hold more than 1,024 hectares—about twenty-five hundred acres. The purpose of such a provision is to prevent the land from falling into the hands of a few men or corporations, and bringing the Philippine population, or any considerable portion of it, into a position of permanent tenancy. Similar to this was the object of the purchase of the Friar Lands. The religious orders were virtually absentee landlords. The pains taken to acquire these lands on the part of the Philippine Government was for the purpose of doing away with this condition of absentee landlordism. It was repeatedly pointed out at the Lake Mohonk Conference that even if (as the Attorney-General of the United States has decided) the law which applies to the public lands of the United States does not apply to these so-called Friar Lands, it is nevertheless of the utmost importance that these Friar Lands be administered by the Philippine Government according to the spirit of that law; for whether a tract of land in the Philippines belongs to the United States or to the Philippine Government, it is equally important that that land should not be made the basis of a landlord system that will tend to create permanent tenants of the Filipinos. Other important questions regarding the island dependencies were discussed—citizenship for Porto Ricans, the proposition to make of Hawaii a treaty port somewhat like Hongkong, the exceedingly successful and rather unconventional methods of government adopted by a naval officer in charge of the island of Guam, and the

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like—but in immediate importance none of them approached this Philippine land question. If the United States Government fails to keep the land of the Philippine Islands from falling into the hands of any form of landed aristocracy—whether it be the aristocracy of a resident wealthy class or the more menacing aristocracy of foreign corporate capitalists—it will fail in its primary duty to the Filipino people; and if the United States makes serious errors in this respect now, it will be unable to correct those errors in later years except at the cost of virtual revolution.

THE MOHONK INDIAN PLATFORM

It has been the custom of the Lake Mohonk Conference each year before adjourning to draw up a platform. This platform represents, not the most advanced ideas presented, not the views of any single group or individual, but what seems to be the consensus of opinion as indicated by the presentation of the papers and by the course of the debate; and, as a consequence, it is generally adopted with what amounts to unanimity. It was so this year. The Lake Mohonk Conference reaffirmed its belief in the present governmental policy of dissolving the Indian tribal organizations and making the Indians individual members of American communities, urging, of course, the protection of the Indians and their property during this transition period. The Conference particularly urged the extension to all Indians of the taxation of inherited and surplus lands in accordance with the precedent applied by the last Congress to the Omaha Indians. It is interesting to note that the proposal to tax the individual property of Indians was first mentioned with approval during the Conference by an Indian. The taxation of Indians has proved, and, we believe, will continue to prove, to the advantage of the Indians, as well as to the advantage of local communities, for it will not only bring into the counties where the Indian land is situated a larger income, but it will also make those communities realize that the Indian will have the same rights to the public roads, public schools, and other public facilities that the white man has. The Conference also expressed its appreciation of the steady improvement in the Indian Bureau and the high character of the service rendered by Government officials.

THE MOHONK INSULAR PLATFORM

With regard to other dependent peoples the Conference reaffirmed its former declarations that the object of the American Government in the insular possessions should be primarily the development of the islanders, and only secondarily the development of the islands; that the task of helping dependent peoples to acquire the art of self-government requires time and patience, and that Statehood should not be regarded as the object to be attained. More particularly the Conference urged that, in the application of these principles, certain conditions should be observed: that the introduction of foreign capital should be accompanied by stringent regulation to prevent private interests gaining advantage to the detriment of the native population; that the people should be trained in hygiene; that there should be some central bureau in the United States Government for the administration of all dependencies, and that there should be action taken to make the Civil Service in these dependencies more permanent than it is at present; that the establishment of friendly relations between the islanders and American residents is to be regarded as of primary importance in all considerations of industrial and political development; that, in particular, as regards the Philippines, all lands held either by the United States or by the Philippine Government should be kept in trust, that they may be not only available for present profitable use by the Filipinos, but also preserved for use by the future generations; that land in the Philippines should not pass to private ownership except to Filipino homesteaders; that agricultural lands devoted in large areas to corporate use should be leased only for such terms as will leave them free for homestead settlement later; that timber, mining, and other lands should be under such control as to prevent destructive waste; that these principles apply not only to the public lands of the United States in the Philippines, but also to the so-called Friar Lands; that

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these Friar Lands, recovered from the absentee landlordism of the religious orders, should not be allowed to become subject to the absentee landlordism of foreign capitalists; that the English language should be made the official language in order that opportunities for self-government may be extended on equal terms to all classes and all native races; that Congress should enable Porto Ricans to become citizens either individually or collectively. With these conclusions The Outlook is in hearty agreement. It would go further on some particular points. For example, it believes that citizenship should be extended to the Porto Ricans by a process analogous to naturalization, rather than by a comprehensive act making all Porto Ricans collectively citizens. It would also urge upon the Philippine Government to adopt for the Friar Lands no less strict, if not stricter, regulations than are applied by law to the public lands of the United States in the Philippines. It is apparent that the same dangers from special interests that confront the American people confront our island dependencies; and if it is incumbent upon the American people to see that privilege does not grow in power in this country, it is still more incumbent upon them to see that it does not gain a foothold among the island dependencies; for the American people can protect themselves, but the people of the island dependencies cannot alone protect themselves; for protection they must rely upon the American people.

THE ENGLISH POLITICAL SITUATION

The political situation in England is, for the time being, quiescent. Neither the Liberals nor the Unionists appear to desire a general election in the near future, and the fact that the coronation is to take place next year acts still further as a deterrent to extreme political agitation. The belief is expressed in some quarters that the conference of the two parties with relation to the composition and power of the House of Lords will not end in smoke, but will produce a proposal for a larger and more representative constitutional council. There is a general feeling also that it would be well to postpone acute agitation of a reform of the House of Lords until after a colonial conference, a kind of Committee of the Whole for the Empire, which might greatly enlarge the whole area of discussion. At this moment Mr. John Redmond, one of the leaders of the Irish party, comes out with a declaration that the Irishmen whom he represents are "loyal to the Empire as such, and desire to strengthen the Imperial bonds through a federal system." He says that they will be content with the kind of self-government which the States have in this country, although they are "perfectly willing that Westminster shall have the final authority over local legislation enacted in Ireland, as it has over colonial legislation." He even goes so far as to affirm that the Irish are willing to forego the right of making their own tariff, are willing to abide by any fiscal system enacted by the British Parliament, and that they are prepared to bear their full burden of Imperial charges with England, Scotland, and Wales. Home rule does not involve, he says, the granting to Ireland of exclusive control over such questions as old age pensions, and he is apparently content with the control of local measures which do not concern the Empire in any way. These are striking admissions, and, if consistency were one of Mr. Redmond's habits, they would mean a great deal; but it is well to remember that it is only a few years ago that Mr. Redmond said: "We from this county of Wexford send this message to England: We tell her that we Wexford men to-day hate her rule just as bitterly as our forefathers did when they shed their blood on this spot." Nevertheless, Mr. Redmond's words are significant; and the whole situation seems to suggest the possibility of a reconstruction of Parliament, so as to incorporate the Imperial system in a body which shall represent the whole Empire.

THE CRIPPEN TRIAL

The trial of Dr. Hawley Harvey Crippen for the murder of his wife was a striking example of the celerity and thoroughness of the English criminal process. The trial lasted a little less than six days; the jury was out less than half an hour, brought in a verdict of guilty, the condemned man was sentenced, and it is announced that the execution will take place

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on the 8th of the present month. Retribution has followed swift and implacable, like a Greek Fate, on one of the most sensational crimes of recent times. Crippen planned and executed his crime like an expert, but the criminal is generally vulnerable at some point. In Crippen's case it was the interment of the remains of his wife in the cellar of his own house. Circumstantial evidence of the most convincing kind satisfied the judge and the jury that the remains were those of Crippen's wife, and that he had murdered her. The Court was presided over by Chief Justice Alverstone. The speeches of counsel on both sides were restrained by the decorum of an English court-room, and were confined strictly within the sphere of legitimate evidence. The Lord Chief Justice analyzed Crippen's story with what is said to have been masterly skill, and closed by declaring that, if Crippen was guilty, he was an extraordinary man who had committed a ghastly crime and attempted to conceal it in the most brutal manner; and if innocent, it was impossible to fathom his mind. The lying letters sent out by Crippen to various persons announcing the departure, illness, and death of his wife were characterized by the Lord Chief Justice as the most remarkable set of statements that had ever come under his notice. The self-control of Crippen was as notable as his brutality and ingenuity. His conviction was apparently a triumph of the common sense of a resolute judge, discarding pure technicalities and going straight to the heart of the matter. The young woman who accompanied Crippen on his flight to Canada, and who wore the jewelry of his murdered wife, was tried as an accessory, and at the end of less than six hours was acquitted. When one compares the dignity and celerity of this trial with the appalling waste of time and money in the Thaw trial and the flooding of this country with indecent testimony, most of which was irrelevant, the necessity of reforming our criminal procedure becomes strikingly manifest.

SIAM

Last week there passed away Chulalongkorn, King of Siam. He was not a well-known monarch, because Siam is not a well-known country. Yet he did a great deal for his country during his long reign of forty-two years, a reign exceeded among living rulers only by those of Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Greece, and Japan. When the King came to the throne, Siam was not a half-civilized State, but during the four decades it may be said to have become more than half-civilized. The executive power, once exercised by the King only, is now exercised by him under the advisement of a Cabinet consisting of the heads of the various departments of the Government, and also by a Legislative Council of forty members, composed of the Ministers of State and others appointed by the Crown. The introduction of many American and European ideas into the Government has been due to the astuteness of the monarch in calling to his counsel an American General Adviser, a British Judicial Adviser, a French Legislative Adviser, and a Japanese Legal Adviser. The work of these agents has been specially noted in the progress made in the administration of justice in the native courts and in the International Court which tries suits of foreigners against natives, in the completion of a penal code, and in the progress made in the framing of other codes. A transformation has also taken place in the police force under the superintendence of English police officers loaned by the Government of India. The financial position of the country has become very favorable, the expenditures being less than the revenue, which is steadily increasing. Most notable of all improvements, however, was the King's decree, ten years ago, liberating the slaves. The oppressive system of forced labor has now been mitigated by the substitution of a police tax. The commercial position of Siam has also become notable. Its chief produce and the staple article of its export is rice. Next in importance comes teakwood, the cutting of which is a great industry; all upper Siam consists of dense forests. The accounts of the country written by those who saw it a quarter of a century ago must now be modified, for railways and tramways, telegraphs and telephones, have been introduced, and Siam is an example to many other more civilized nations by reason of the introduction of a parcels post service. Though the coun-

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try's area is no longer as vast as it once was, by reason of the aggressions of France from Anam on the east and of Great Britain from Burma on the west, the area is still very considerable, amounting to about two hundred thousand square miles—half-way between the areas of California and Texas—in which nearly seven million people find a more or less easy livelihood, one which comports well with their traditional light-heartedness and gayety. Americans have a special interest in the Siamese, not only because the late Edward Henry Strobel was for many years the trusted General Adviser for the Siamese King, but also because of the gratifying progress made by our religious missions in the country. The Presbyterian missions, in particular, have been so strong that the name of their college at Chiengmai was, at the Crown Prince's suggestion, changed to the Prince Royal College. Both the King and his son have been liberal contributors to these institutions. The son, Prince Chowfa Maha Vajiravudh, is now King. It is believed that he will prove his father's worthy successor.

THE AUSTRALIAN OLD AGE PENSION SYSTEM EXTENDED

Two of the Australian States, New South Wales and Victoria, had old age pension systems before the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence in 1900. In July, 1909, a Federal system of old age pensions came into operation, with a maximum rate of ten shillings a week. To qualify for a pension a man or woman had to be over sixty-five years of age, and resident in Australia for a period of not less than twenty-five years. The Federal law was enacted during the Deakin or Fusionist administration—the administration that came into existence and was supported by both Liberals and Conservatives with a view to keeping the Labor party out of power. At the last general election, however, the Labor party was returned with majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate; and one of the first acts of the Fisher Government has been to extend the pension system. This can be done by order-in-council; but it is necessary, of course, that Parliament should sanction the additional expenditure that any change in the pension system may involve. For the first year of the Federal system—July, 1909, to July, 1910—the cost was £1,500,000. At the end of July last the Government asked for a vote of £2,200,000; and with this granted by Parliament the age at which women become eligible for pensions has been reduced to sixty years; and pensions are also to be paid under certain conditions to women and men who are invalids before they reach the age of sixty and sixty-five. Under the British system the maximum pension is five shillings a week, and men and women are not eligible until they reach the age of seventy. The Fisher Government has also repealed the law which provided for a loan of £3,500,000 for naval defenses. Naval defense is not to be neglected; but the policy of the Labor Government is to pay as it goes, and meet all expenditure on defense out of revenue. Another measure to which the Fisher Government is committed is one which provides that, if a manufacturer receives advantages from the high protectionist tariff of the Commonwealth, he must share this advantage with his work-people in the way of higher wages and better working conditions, or the output of his factory will be charged with an excise duty equivalent to the import duty on similar goods coming from abroad. The incoming of the Labor Ministry has occasioned few apprehensions in Australia. It was heartily welcomed by the "Church Commonwealth," one of the organs of the Episcopal Church in Melbourne, on the ground that while Mr. Alfred Deakin, the defeated Premier, had always commanded respect as "a dreamer of dreams," "many of his supporters were simply professional politicians—men without enthusiasm and without character." This was written in May last, just after the Deakin or Fusionist Ministry had been overwhelmed at the polls. There had apparently been little change in popular feeling as regards the Fisher Ministry by the end of July; for the Melbourne correspondent of the Glasgow "Herald," one of the foremost of British Conservative journals, then reported that there was every likelihood that the Labor party would be in control for six years—practically for the full lifetime of the present Federal Parliament.

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THE LOSS OF A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. Justice Moody's retirement is a tragedy from the private, and a real calamity from the public, standpoint. It is the literal truth to say that there is no public servant whom, at this particular time, the public could so ill afford to lose. He is a man in the very prime of his life, in the flower of his intellectual strength, who has lived long enough to develop his powers and his usefulness to the utmost, but not so long as in any way to impair either; and just at the moment when he was entering upon a great career of service to the people, he is stricken down and forced to leave the Bench. We feel for him, personally, the deep sympathy we would naturally feel for a gallant officer who, having done admirable work until he reaches the highest position, is almost immediately thereafter, when the need for him is sorest, the chance for him greatest, stricken in his high position and forced to abandon his work while on its threshold.

To those of us whose signal good fortune it has been to be intimately associated with Justice Moody his loss from the Bench and from active life causes a keen pang of personal grief; but, after all, our chief regret is for the public, for the people, for the Nation as a whole. Under our form of government no other body of men occupy a position of such far-reaching importance as the Justices of the Supreme Court. Neither the executive nor the legislative branch of the Government, under ordinary conditions, does as much in shaping our Constitutional growth as the Supreme Court. This is not true of any other country. In every other country the judges, though they exercise a great and decisive influence in civil contests between individuals, have little or no power to shape the governmental course of development—that is, the course of national development, the course of affairs that affect the people not individually but as a whole. In our country, however, a number of causes which were not in evidence during the first decade after the establishment of the Constitution have combined to render the Supreme Court in many ways the most important governmental body in the land, and to give it a position which places it infinitely above any other court in the entire world. Power so great is, of course, because of its very greatness, equally capable of working harm and of working good; and exactly as he is no true patriot who fails to uphold the judge who is a far-seeing and fearless public servant, so he is no true patriot who hesitates to point out the facts when the judge does not serve the people. Ours is a Government of the people, and no man has a right to be in public life who is not in a high and true sense the servant of the people; and the doctrine that there shall not be honest, fearless, and temperate criticism of any judge is not only unworthy of being held by any free man who respects himself, but is a betrayal of the cause of good government; for only thus can there be proper discrimination in the public mind between the wise judge who serves the people and his equally honest brother who, because he lacks the statesmanlike qualities or clings to outworn (that is, to fossilized) political theories, does damage to the people.

A glance at the past history of the Supreme Court will prove this beyond possibility of cavil to any man of intelligence who is not afraid to face facts. The Supreme Court during the first third of the nineteenth century, while it was under the domination of the great Chief Justice Marshall, rendered a service to the country greater than at that time was rendered by any President or by Congress. Marshall was in a real sense one of the founders of our Constitution. He deserves a place beside the greatest of the early Presidents, beside the greatest of the men who wrought out the Constitution and secured its adoption. The Court in his time, and while it responded to his teaching, was the most vital governmental element in our National growth.

There succeeded a time in which the Court was under the dominion of another Chief Justice, Chief Justice Taney, when its members shared the views of Chief Justice Taney. The Court then became, not the leader in sound governmental growth, but the most formidable obstacle to sound governmental growth. It was the decision of the Court at this time in the Dred Scott case which marked the

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climax of the then governmental attitude towards slavery, and which gave Abraham Lincoln his opportunity to rise into National prominence by the vigor of his opposition thereto and of his assault upon the Court for what it had done. During the Civil War the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Taney, so far from being an aid to the forces of union and liberty, was their enemy, and, as a condition of successfully carrying on his warfare on behalf of the American people, Abraham Lincoln was obliged to take an attitude of disregard of, and at times of open antagonism to, the Supreme Court; an attitude which neither could nor would have been taken save that the vital need of the Nation, at the moment when it was facing revolution, rendered such a course imperative. All sober and serious statesmen and publicists, and all leaders of the people, when they deal with the Supreme Court, should remember not only the incalculable service it rendered under Marshall, but the menace it was to the Nation under Taney, and the way in which it then forced Abraham Lincoln and all far-seeing patriots to antagonize it. There is no reason for supposing that Marshall and Taney differed in ability as lawyers or in sincerity and loftiness of private character. But one was a great, far-seeing statesman who builded for the future, the other was a man who clung to outworn theories (I use the word "outworn," as some sensitive people seem to regard this word as preferable to the word "fossilized"), and who in consequence worked for the detriment of the country as surely as if it had been his conscious purpose so to do.

We are now entering on a period when the vast and complex growth of modern industrialism renders it of vital interest to our people that the Court should apply the old essential underlying principles of our Government to the new and totally different conditions in such fashion that the spirit of the Constitution shall in very fact be preserved and not sacrificed to a narrow construction of the letter. Much of the future of this country depends upon the direction from which the judges of the Supreme Court approach the great Constitutional questions that they will have to decide. It is impossible to overestimate the services which may be rendered on this Court by the judge who is really a far-sighted statesman, who has the modern type of mind, who is fully alive to the great governmental needs of the time and to the far-reaching importance which the decisions of the courts may have, and who in dealing with the problems that confront him never forgets that in addition to being a lawyer on the Bench he is also an American citizen in a place of the highest responsibility who owes a great duty not only to the people of this country to-day, but to the people of this country to-morrow.

This was exactly the type of judge that Mr. Moody was. It is the universal testimony of all who knew him that as Justice he grew and developed with extraordinary rapidity. As District Attorney of Massachusetts, as Congressman, as Secretary of the Navy, and as Attorney-General he had rendered signal service to his country; indeed, his record as Attorney-General can be compared without fear with the record of any other man who ever held that office. Much was rightly expected of him when he was made Justice of the Supreme Court; but what he did and the attitude he took during his lamentably short term of office showed that these expectations would be far more than realized. He was not a man who was misled by a formula. His clear eye always saw into the heart of things. No devotion to the theory of National power prevented his deciding in favor of the rights of any State wherever it was obvious that through the exercise of its rights by the State lay the only chance of securing the rights of the people. On the other hand, no theory as to the rights of the States caused him to refrain from giving effect to a just expression of the popular will when that popular will could find effective expression only by the exercise of the powers of the Federal Government. It is not a difficult thing to find an upright man who as judge will do justice between individuals; but it is a very difficult thing to find the far-seeing statesman who on the Bench will with wisdom and firmness shape the course of governmental action so that the National and State governments shall completely cover the whole field of governmental action in order that

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there shall be left no neutral ground wherein astute men, protected by contradictory judicial decisions, may work wickedness uncontrolled by either State or Nation. Mr. Justice Moody was one of these men. He rendered noteworthy service to the country even during his short term on the Bench, and had he been able to continue on the Bench he would have rendered such service as hardly any other man now in public life can hope to render.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

TO THE VOTER

Next Tuesday you will vote simultaneously in two elections: in the one choosing men to rule the Nation, in the other men to rule the State. You will elect a Congressman for the Nation and a Governor for the State. The Congressman has no part in the government of the State; the Governor no part in the government of the Nation.

Do not confound these two elections. True, in electing State Representatives you may be indirectly electing a United States Senator; not until we get popular election of United States Senators will the issues be absolutely distinct. But, with that important exception, you can now keep them distinct. Do not let cunning campaigners mislead you. Your question is not, Who shall be nominated for President of the one government in 1912? but, Who shall be elected Governor of the other government in 1910? And in voting for Governor you are not voting on the tariff. The Governor has nothing more to do with the tariff than with the budget in England or the school question in France.

If you believe, with The Outlook, in revision of the tariff by commission, and in that continued development of the National powers which George Washington commended over a century ago, you will vote in the National election for the Congressional candidate pledged to those policies. How will you vote in the State election? What are the State issues?

The States are to be redistricted on the basis of the recent census. Which of the two parties in your State is the more likely to make that redistricting so as to represent most fairly the will of the people in the State Legislature? That is the party to vote for.

Do you believe in a State Public Utilities Commission? That is, do you wish to pay for gas, electric light, and the telephone, and railway and trolley fares, whatever the corporations charge, or what a State Commission decides, after a hearing, they have a right to charge? If you prefer the latter policy, vote for the party which will give you a State Public Utilities Commission, or will strengthen its powers if one already exists, or will secure an efficient and honest one if it already exists and is strong enough.

But the paramount issue before you is the issue joined between special interests and the public welfare. By special interests we mean those which desire, not a free field, a fair opportunity, and no favors, but special advantages, through either legislative or administrative action. Some of their advocates are grossly and consciously corrupt, and are ready to pay in cash or sinecures for the favors which they solicit. Others have simply inherited the notion that special interests are entitled to special favors, a notion universal in the eighteenth century throughout the Old World. But, whether consciously corrupt or uncorruptly uniting in political partnership with these special interests, the supporters of special privilege are a menace to the Republic. Whatever political principles they profess, whatever political tag they carry, vote against them. If the representatives of both the great political parties are in that partnership, vote against both. A vote against corruption is never a vote thrown away. Do not be cheated by the cry, Principles, not men. There are no principles in unprincipled men. An administration will be no better than the administrator. No professed political principles justify putting a dishonest man in office; and no honesty in an individual candidate makes him satisfactory if he is the candidate of a dishonest faction.

The second citadel of the special interests is the political machine. The interests own the boss; the boss controls the machine; the machine nominates the candidates; and the people choose between two advocates of the same special interests. The special interests never fight in the open if they can help it. They dare not

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appeal to the people, for the people are not corrupt. When democracy fails, it is because it is not democratic enough. The remedy for the failure of democracy is more democracy. If it is right for the people of a State to elect their officers, it is right for the members of a party to choose their candidates. The direct primary is democracy applied to party organization and party government. A blow for the direct primary is a blow for honest politics; the maggots flee from the light. The best method of securing popular control of party organization may not yet be discovered. But we must discover it if we are to protect the public welfare against the special interests. Study the situation in your State, and vote for the candidates whose election gives the greatest promise of popular government and honest administration.

The counsel which Jethro gave to Moses is not yet antiquated. It is as good counsel in America in 1910 A.D. as it was in the Wilderness in 1200 B.C.

PROVIDE OUT OF ALL THE PEOPLE ABLE MEN, SUCH AS FEAR GOD, MEN OF TRUTH, HATING COVETOUSNESS, AND PLACE SUCH OVER THEM.

Political issues are never presented practically in a political campaign as clearly as they can be presented academically in a political article. But by applying these principles to the situation in New York State, with which we are familiar, we can illustrate how they may be applied in other States with which we are less familiar.

The special interests got control in the organizations of both the political parties in New York State. In both parties there was a revolt led by strong men of high political ideals. In the Republican party this revolt was successful; the special interests were defeated, their opponents dominated the Convention and nominated the entire ticket; but conceded to the Old Guard a tariff plank in the platform. In the Democratic Convention, Tammany Hall, the oligarchic representative of special interests, dominated the Convention and nominated the ticket, though it conceded to the insurgents their nominee, though not their first choice, for Governor. The Republican party had already created a Public Service Commission, despite Democratic opposition. If it triumphs, it will retain that Commission. If the Democratic party triumphs, there is no assurance that it will be retained; nor is it probable that a party which has opposed the creation of any Commission will give to the State a Commission which is efficient. The direct primary was defeated by an alliance between the Democratic majority and a Republican minority. The Republican opponents of the direct primary were defeated in the Convention, and some of them have been defeated in their candidacy for renomination to the Legislature. The reverse is the case in the Democratic party. A vote for the Republican ticket is a vote for direct primaries. The Republican party has nominated for Governor a lawyer who has made a National reputation by his successful prosecution of fraudulent and corrupt representatives of the special interests—men of great wealth and of great social and political influence. The Democratic party has nominated a manufacturer whose ability to cope with the shrewd and unscrupulous elements which dominate the machinery of his own party is unknown because it has not been tried. That the election of the Democratic ticket is urged by some political leaders whose integrity is attested by lives devoted to the public service ought not to conceal from the voter the fact that the issue joined between the Democratic and Republican parties in New York State is the issue between Tammany and anti-Tammany.

The issue in other States is not so clear. Thus, for example, in the neighboring States of Connecticut and New Jersey, the party machine remains, we believe, in control of the party organization in both the great political parties; but in Connecticut the Democrats have nominated one of her ablest lawyers, in New Jersey her ablest educator. Both are men of high character, who can be depended on to adhere in office to the principles which they have professed in the campaign, and who, if elected, it may be hoped will be able in their respective States to accomplish for the regeneration of their party approximately what Governor Hughes has accomplished for his party in New York State.

In every State the voter ought to dis-

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regard National issues in voting for State officials; to vote for that candidate, whatever his party name, who will most honestly and ably represent the public welfare against the corrupt influences and the specious pleas of special interests for either the acquisition of new privileges or the extension of old ones.

THE MAGIC HAND

One of Dr. Woodrow Wilson's most thoughtful essays was suggested by the remark of a college teacher that a certain piece of writing under discussion was "mere literature." Those who hold that writing must be at every moment on duty as a moral censor may dismiss Mr. Lucas's books as mere literature. As an editor his name appears on nine or ten volumes of selections in prose and verse; as author, on eight or nine books of moderate size—a creditable record of industry for a man still in his early prime. Incidentally and betweenwhiles, so to speak, Mr. Lucas is one of the editors of "Punch," that sane and often wise satirist of the spiritual, social, and material state of Great Britain. Against all Mr. Lucas's books it is easy to make the charge that they are mere literature, and the evidence is so ample that no English judge would have any hesitation in charging the jury to bring in a verdict against him. His offense is not flagrant; but no person who knows the difference between expert machine work and fresh, spontaneous writing, or between technical skill and the native gift of saying things naturally, humorously, and with the ease that captivates the initiated and grossly deceives the unwary, can be confused in mind about Mr. Lucas's guilt.

He has that delightful manner which eludes the unobserving because it presents no mannerisms; he is natural in so easy and ingratiating a fashion that those who look for intellectual insignia worn on the outside of a piece of writing as decorations are worn on the coats of the great are in danger of passing him by as a person of no consequence; his material is so often common property, and his selection of it apparently so casual, that those who look for the unusual and melodramatic, or for that steady stroke of emphasis which gives a good deal of contemporary writing the continuity of resonance of a gong, are likely to dismiss him into the shadowy group of the dispensers of the commonplace.

Mr. Lucas is a man of quiet but resolute audacity; in an age of thunderous activities, of aggressive morals, of a highly colored drama, and of fiction black with sin, lurid with passion, and rolling joyfully in a sea of unleashed emotions, he is as quiet, unobtrusive, and well-mannered as an eighteenth-century essayist; but he has the intimacy, the informality, the companionable quality of the nineteenth century. He does not hold you with the glittering eye of the wedding guest; he does not agitate you with the breathless vicissitudes of the narrator who deals in hairbreadth escapes; he never pushes you into corners with arguments to which you cannot at the moment remember the answers; he gossips with you about simple and worthy things until the fire sinks and you go to bed with a cheerful feeling that there is a margin of play about life and plenty of room for humor, kindness, and simple human interests.

In a recent English novel a housekeeper who has a genius for cooking and for aphorisms says of one of her most successful culinary triumphs that it requires only "a glass roller and the magic hand." The glass roller may be had at the shop, and there are many that purchase it; but the magic hand is personal property, which can neither be acquired nor put up for sale. The critic to whom Dr. Wilson makes his satiric compliments was always looking for the glass roller, while literature is always the product of the magic hand. In many forms of writing the manner is the substance; a man may pick the thing that lies nearest, and, if he has the magic touch, it straightway becomes significant. Casper Becerra waited long for the sacred wood from Palestine out of which to carve the holy image; and at last, in despair, seized a fagot from the hearth and it became rare and beautiful in his hands. This is the secret of the born writer: he does not have to go to market for the glass roller; he has the magic hand.

Mr. Lucas has an instinct for good things, and finds them whichever way he

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looks. "The Second Post,"[1] like "The Gentlest Art" and "The Open Road," and four or five other small books of gatherings from well-tilled fields, is so vital and fresh in its choices that one reads it continuously as if it were a logically fashioned whole, instead of a mass of parts. The vital relationship lies in the sane judgment, the ample knowledge, and, above all, in the fresh feeling which directed the search for things that are real and human.

There was a little romance, but no suggestion of plot, in "Over Bemerton's," but what a delightful flavor of good literature and wholesome living pervaded the book! "Mr. Ingleside"[2] is "mere literature;" the material is plain, simple, every-day incident; but how deftly it is handled, what easy humor plays over its surface, what beguiling quietness is distilled from it! Things happen in the story as they must in a world in which one thing always pushes on into another, but no gongs are sounded and the police are never called out. The reader could lay the book down at the end of almost every chapter, but he would rather go on and listen to the delightful talk and sit at ease in the charming atmosphere of the book. In an explosive age, which is wisely blowing up a good many old prison-houses of the human spirit, the quiet temper in Mr. Lucas's writing has the charm of novelty; it has also the charm of good manners. On the principle of the glass roller the quality of interest in such stories as "Mr. Ingleside" and "The Slowcoach" is an enigma; on the principle of the magic hand it is as open as the secret of Elia.

LIBERTY UNDER LAW

In his interesting and forceful article on another page Mr. Everett P. Wheeler discusses a question which philosophy has never settled and probably never will. It is one of the insoluble enigmas of life. Is the course of history determined by inexorable laws which control men in their lives as the planets are controlled in their courses? Or is it determined by the free action of men who make and unmake empires, as the builder destroys one edifice and constructs another in its place? Did the Reformation make Luther, or did Luther make the Reformation? Did Garrison and Phillips, Seward and Lincoln, produce the anti-slavery campaign, or did the anti-slavery campaign produce Garrison and Phillips, Seward and Lincoln? Which is the correct interpreter of history, Buckle or Carlyle? Which is the sounder philosopher, Calvin or Arminius?

Insoluble enigma of history we have called it. "Perennial tragedy of life" it has been called: this inevitable "conflict between the creative will of men and the hidden wisdom of the world which seems to thwart it." And Professor Thomas Hill Green, from whom these words are taken, indicates the direction in which a spiritual philosophy finds approximate solution: "The higher enthusiasm which breathed in Cromwell and Vane was not Puritanic or English merely. It belonged to the universal spiritual force which, as ecstasy, mysticism, quietism, philosophy, is in permanent collision with the carnal interests of the world, and which, if it conquers them for a moment, yet sinks under them that it may transmute them more thoroughly to its service."[1]

Philosophy may not be able to solve this enigma—the relation of divine law to human liberty and responsibility; but it may perceive how a great teacher molds the social organization of his school to his predetermined purpose, not despite the liberty of his pupils, but by using that liberty, and in that common phenomenon of human experience may find an analogy to the reign of law in the world of men. And it may find, if not a solution of the problem, at least light thrown upon it, by the conclusion of Professor Green, as Professor MacCunn interprets it:

> Even if, on a first view of it, the course of history might seem to be no more than the secular product of finite human wills and circumstances, it was precisely his analysis of the action of human wills as found in moral and political experience that convinced Green that neither human achievement nor aspiration could be made intelligible except through the presence in so-called secular affairs of that universal spiritual force to

[1] "The Second Post." By E. V. Lucas. [2] "Mr. Ingleside." By E. V. Lucas. Both published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

[1] Quoted by Professor John MacCunn in "Six Radical Thinkers," p. 222.

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which the religious consciousness had never failed to bear witness.

It is the recognition of this truth, that there is a Power not ourselves which is working for righteousness in the lives of men, giving them visions of truth and beauty not yet realized, and inspiring their wills to attempt the realization, which distinguishes the reformer from the agitator. The agitator forms an ideal of his own and seeks to impose it on his generation. It may be a true ideal; it may be a false ideal; but it exists only in his own vision or in that of the small coterie to which he belongs. The reformer perceives the ideal which exists, half consciously, in his contemporaries, and gives it definite form and points the way to its realization. The agitator looks with contempt on the reformer as an opportunist. But the reformer is the wiser and more useful man of the two; as he who understands the mystic forces of spring and times his seed-planting accordingly is wiser than his neighbor who attempts to force nature to do his bidding by planting his seeds before the frost is out of the ground.

He is not only more practical; he not only better comprehends the use of truth; he better comprehends what truth is. For untimely truth is often not truth at all. When, in 1850, Garrison was preaching to the Northern States the duty of immediate, unconditional emancipation, he was preaching what was not true. There was no duty in the North of immediate and unconditional emancipation, for the simple reason that the North had no more power and no more authority to emancipate the slaves in the Southern States than it had to emancipate the serfs in Russia. And it is never a duty to do what one has neither the authority nor the power to do. The doctrine of Abraham Lincoln—that it was the duty of the North to prevent the extension of slavery into new States and Territories—was true; for that the North had power to do. Yet the false doctrine of Garrison, the agitator, was not without its usefulness, since it accustomed the North to the idea of emancipation and prepared the people to fulfill the duty of the hour when the hour arrived for emancipation to become a duty.

The principle is not without its application to present-day problems. Whether political Socialism is a true or false ideal for some future generation, it is not a true ideal for the present time. If the time ever becomes ripe for so radical a reorganization of society, it is not ripe now. The Socialistic agitators may be thought to be preparing for an unknown future. We think they are; not, however, by indicating what that future is to be, and in what direction we should attempt to direct the Nation's destiny; but, by inducing us to discuss an impossible and an undesirable scheme, a pathway that would lead to a *cul-de-sac*, from which we could escape only by retracing our steps, they are preventing the American people from ever entering upon so disastrous an experiment. The social reformer does not attempt to impose his own idealism on his generation, but endeavors to understand the idealism which the Eternal is inspiring in the hearts of the people, to give it clear expression, and to lead his community on, one step at a time, to its realization. Whatever may be the theoretical solution of this unsolved enigma of the relation of universal law to human liberty, the practical solution for the reformer is to understand what are the spiritual forces at work in his own time, and what is the purpose of the Eternal working in and through those forces; and to work with them, not against them nor in disregard of them.

It may be added—though this requires fuller statement than is here possible—that the wisdom of Jesus Christ and his immediate Apostles is strikingly seen in the fact that they acted in accordance with this principle. Jesus Christ refused to lead a reform movement against either slavery in industry or despotism in government. Paul counseled the runaway slave to return to his master, and his Christian disciples to be obedient to the laws of the Roman Empire. This was not because Jesus Christ and Paul did not care about Roman slavery and Roman despotism. The principles they inculcated were inconsistent with both. But because the world was not in their time ready for freedom in industry or representation of the people in government, a call to industrial and political liberty would have been an untimely message, and therefore an untrue message. But the

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message that God loves his children and that his children should love one another is never untimely. And not until that message had been understood and accepted was the preparation made for the industrial and political reforms which eventually and inevitably followed.

THE LIVING GOD

"How much more one could enjoy God if it were not for religion!" is the rather startling remark of a woman in a recent novel. The good woman confused religion with theology and ecclesiasticism; otherwise there was a world of truth in her outcry. Many a man has thirsted after God and been sent to some abstract formula, some minutely elaborated organization. He longed with all his soul for the living, loving God with whom he could stand in an intimate and childlike relation, and he has been offered a remote and angry being whom he must first placate, a metaphysical conception expressed in a subtle and arid creed, or a great paraphernalia surrounding an august deity to whom he must carry authoritative credentials. There must be creeds and organization, but the loving Father should never be shut off by them from any human soul that needs him; nor should doctrine or priest of any name or kind come between the heart that pants for the water-brook and the flowing fountains. The end of creeds is to clarify the thought of God, not to obscure it; and the office of the priest is to lead men to God, not to keep them at a distance.

In no field does the process of hardening faith into dogma bear more tragical results than in the field of religion. The tendency to formulate a vital relation, to define rigidly a free and spontaneous movement of mind, plays havoc in every art, and transforms the fresh and spontaneous feeling, the new and individual method, into an academic formula. The struggle of all vital things in the world is to keep active and free, to resist the paralysis of hard and fast method. Every man of genius in art is a disturber of the peace at the start; not a lawbreaker, but a violator of those conventional rules in which the vital force of a great, affluent nature has been turned into hard and fast precepts. The experience of the race, the deposit of its endeavors to find truth, its struggles after freedom, its anguish of toil, is of immense educational value; but when this experience ceases to be a guide and becomes a master, ceases to be a liberator and becomes a yoke, it arrests the natural growth of the creative life of men. There are few things in history so pathetic as the conversion of the liberators of the mind and soul into oppressors, so that the apostle or martyr of freedom in one age is made an unwilling tyrant in the next; so prone are men not to follow the spirit of the leader, but to slavishly copy his methods.

This benumbing tendency creeps like a slow paralysis not only over society at large, but over individuals, and the man of genius must strive like other men to keep his mind open and his spirit free; otherwise he, too, becomes an imitator, not of other men, but of himself. If the vision which made his youth glorious is to give his maturity constant renewal of power, he must keep near the sources of his inspiration, and the exquisite craftsmanship which practice brings him must never be counted other than as the servant of vision. When craftsmanship is substituted for art, the old manner remains, but the old life has departed. There is a little group of Impressionists who have given us a new sense of light and air; there is a much larger group who have given us eccentric methods and landscapes in which disordered optical nerves have shown us what Nature would be if she went insane.

Perhaps the most vital struggle of humanity is to keep God alive in its thought. The fathomless source of life, he has been and is fast bound in formulas which have as little relation to his tidal energy and vitality as the little stream which is conduited from the great cataract to do the work of a factory. The Master of life, whose universe moves through an endless series of changes, he is locked in catechisms and books of theology as if he were the creature of systems and could be compassed by them instead of being the very soul and source of abounding freedom. The great Lawmaker, he has been brought to judgment into statute-books and made the slave of human inter-

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pretations of his will. Men have been told again and again that he cannot justify the sinner, that he must receive the exact equivalent in blood of every ounce of transgression, that he cannot violate his own laws of matter, as if we knew finally what his laws are! There must be statements of faith, but they have no authority when they substitute a philosophy of which we are ignorant for an experience which we know; there must be churches, and there always have been churches in which the thought of God was an inspiration and the sense of his presence a great and sustaining comfort; but God is not shut up in churches, and any attempt to imprison him within four walls is a terrible disaster to humanity. Many a boy has looked out of the church window on a summer morning and wished he were with the birds in the freedom of the radiant day, and believed himself a sinner for the longing; and has not known that the God of his fathers was calling him from the open fields rather than from the pulpit before which his fathers had sat. There is one God, and he is unchanging, but our thoughts of him must widen as he more and more rises above the horizon of knowledge and experience. Each age must know him for itself; each age must speak to him in its own tongue; in every age the thought of his love and power must be renewed. The ancient revelation stands secure; but there must always be a new revelation in the experience of each succeeding generation.

THE SPECTATOR

"What astonished you most at the aviation meet at Belmont Park?" asked the Spectator's friend. And the Spectator was almost tempted to reply, "The automobiles!" They were "parked" in masses, hundreds of them, possibly not far from a thousand, and a statistical bystander first put their value at a million dollars, then jumped to three millions, and finally said, "Well, a million more or less doesn't matter." The high cost of living did not seem to be injuring the motor car business. At night, returning to New York, a closed grade-crossing held up the line, and in a few minutes perhaps three hundred cars, in four parallel rows, with lights blazing and horns tooting, filled the highway as far back as the eye could see—a strange spectacle, not soon to be forgotten. When, one wondered, would the sky-pilots be supplanting the chauffeurs? Not more marvelous would the establishing of passenger air-routes seem to us than did this mass of chugging, restless cars seem to those who remembered the quiet of the Long Island roads ten years ago.

Flying, as a sport at least, has evidently come to stay. The lists of fashionable people in boxes and grand stand seem almost a duplication of Horse Show news reports. Club-house tea-parties were in evidence. Costumes designed especially for aviation enthusiasts were numerous, some bizarre, some beautiful. From the new railway tube and the subway, with their connections, poured crowds of sightseers who waited with patience for something to happen. Few people sat still; most wandered from point to point, or stood gazing into the sky regardless of the danger of "aviation neck." The fascination, when the bird-men were in the air, was compelling and continuous. Outside the park grounds thrifty landowners offered space at reduced rates, taking unfair advantage of the fact that flying is not a sport to be easily fenced in. One owner of near-by property even wrote to the newspapers to protest against the outrage of "unsightly screens" put up to obstruct the view of outsiders. He might have saved his ink, for the screens were futile enough, and reminded some one of Artemus Ward's story of the man who sold tickets to see the eclipse from a tent which had no roof. The expectations of the Belmont Park managers that a hundred thousand people a day would come to see the exhibition were not realized; but, considering the uncertainties of what might or might not take place on any given day or hour, the crowds were large, and most emphatically they were enthusiastic, with that sort of enjoyment which shows itself, not in wild shouting, but in gazing as if they could gaze forever.

Over at the hangars—the Spectator was surprised to learn that the word

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is French, but admits that it is a more imposing term than "shed"—were to be seen some thirty or more flying-machines, each groomed and watched and tested by its group of skilled machinists and less scientific "hostlers." Here, too, one got glimpses from time to time of many of the most famous and daring aviators of the world. The names of Glenn Curtiss, Latham, Hamilton, Grahame-White, Hoxsey, Johnstone, Moisant, Baldwin, and others have behind them records of all manner of feats and marvels of speed, endurance, and altitudes. It is only fifteen years since Otto Lilienthal made the first gliding flights the world had ever seen, only to fall in the end a victim to his own passion for experiment. To-day these cheerful young fellows (twenty-one is rather an advanced age for an aviator) soar and dive and glide as nonchalantly as bicycle performers ride on a track. They have as a type a combination of personal intrepidity with technical skill. Not every one can become an aviator—and, at present at least, fortunately, not every one wants to be one. Here, too, one sees, perhaps, quietly moving about among their four or five machines, the two Wright brothers, looking like the self-controlled, resolute, modest inventors they are—the men who made flying really practical, for their device for warping the ends of the planes has been adopted in one form or another by almost all of the flyers both in biplanes and monoplanes. It is not so many years, so the Spectator read the other day, since the Dayton newspaper regarded stories about the "doings of those Wright boys" as food for the waste-paper basket, and now they are doing a serious business as makers and sellers of aeroplanes on a commercial basis. Their experiments are not finished, however; they believe in the superiority of the biplane; but they are trying new forms and weights and motors constantly; and when the Spectator saw their short-winged, high-powered machine buzz around the air-course, the speed-limit seemed almost reached.

But, lo! while we have been talking and peering at aviators and hangars the wind has fallen, a bomb explodes to show that a contest has begun—two, in fact—the cross-country run, down out of sight, round a captive balloon far away and return, and a struggle for altitude. One after another the great winged machines are rolled out on the turf, their propellers are twirled, the motors started, and easily, smoothly, they glide onward and then upward. One, two, three of them sail off into the distance; but others are rising, and soon the Spectator can count seven. For birdlike effect the praise must certainly fall to the gigantic Antoinette driven by Latham—a great hawk with a voice like a planing-machine she seems to be. Other monoplanes dart here and there, while two great biplanes slowly soar and soar until as the dark comes on they vanish from sight. The Spectator did not see the literally unique performance when Hoxsey and Johnstone, on two Wright biplanes, sailed backwards in a gale (or at least traveled backwards because their speed was less than that of the wind), landing, the first twenty-five miles, the latter fifty-five miles away; but he did see the same "husky lads" rising in long spirals on their way to a high spot in the sky about a mile and a half up. But, after all, the clearest impression left is that of having seen at one time seven (some said eight) machines in varied motion and of varied form. Others may discuss the technicalities of type and power, and the ingenious and elaborate system of "totalization of duration" and prize awards, by which almost every aviator got money and some of them got glory; what the Spectator carried away was a vision of glowing cloud and fading sky, and athwart it those circling and mounting evidences that at last the hand of man has been laid in control on the kingdom of the air.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FOOTBALL

BY H. ADDINGTON BRUCE

THERE can be no doubt that, excluding the games common to childhood, football is far and away the most popular of outdoor sports. No other is played by so many peoples, and, while it is the "national" game of no country, all so-called national games, when brought into competition with it, tend to take a subordinate place. In the United States not even baseball, splendid game that it is, arouses the enthusiasm and attracts the crowds that throng to football matches; in Canada, despite the national devotion to lacrosse, its "drawing" qualities are admittedly inferior to those of football; in England, where cricket is supposed to reign supreme, football appeals to the mass of the people in a way that cricket has never done.

It is no uncommon thing for an English workingman, seemingly so stolid and unemotional, to devote full fifty minutes of his precious noon hour to watching with intense interest a game of football. Championship contests in England and Scotland are attended by fifty, sixty, and sometimes more than seventy thousand spectators, whose ardor is unabated by the most adverse weather conditions. The same indifference to aught but the game is evident wherever football is played. I well remember one game in Canada in which I participated, when, before the first half was ten minutes old, a heavy snow-storm set in, with a keen, cutting wind. The storm progressed throughout the game, two inches of snow falling, and the wind steadily increasing. Yet scarcely any one left the exposed stands until the referee's whistle had blown for the last time; while above the wind could be plainly heard the wild cheering of the spectators, urging the snow-blinded players to greater effort.

But, as a display of unrestrained, exuberant enthusiasm nothing is quite comparable with the spectacle presented at the great college games in this country, particularly the Harvard-Yale and Yale-Princeton games. Here the impelling influence and strange fascination of football are most impressively revealed. On an average, thirty to thirty-five thousand persons annually witness each of these principal intercollegiate struggles, and probably as many more would attend if seating accommodations could be had. Special trains are run from the large Eastern cities, and many of the spectators journey hundreds of miles by automobile. And from the moment the teams jog out upon the field to begin their preliminary practice of formations, punts, and drop kicks up to the time when victors and vanquished give each other farewell cheers, the watching thousands are a-quiver with excitement. Every move is followed with the closest attention, every good play elicits a storm of applause, every fumble or tactical error is the signal for a doleful lamentation. A visitor from Mars, dropping in upon the scene, would be justified in assuming that some decisive conflict was in progress bearing vitally on the destinies of the Nation.

It should be noted, too, that football has achieved its wonderful popularity in the face of bitter opposition. As everybody knows, there has been of recent years a clamorous demand in some quarters for its suppression. It has been picturesquely described as "a prize-fight multiplied by eleven," and denounced as a brutal, inhuman practice, unfit for civilized men to countenance. Such denunciations, however, are no new thing. As long ago as 1424 the playing of football was prohibited in England by royal proclamation, and in 1583 that rigid Puritan of Tudor times, Philip Stubbs, condemned it in his "Anatomie of Abuses," in which it received the pleasant designation of "a bloody, murthering game." In the following century, during the régime of Stubbs's coreligionists, earnest efforts were made to put a complete end to it; but it has instead grown more and more popular, until to-day, more than ever before, it has a firm hold on the esteem of the sport-loving public.

Manifestly, this can be accounted for in only one of two ways: Either the man

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of the twentieth century is a brutal, debased, degenerate creature, or else, to an extraordinary degree and alike for players and spectators, football meets a real human need. No thinking person will accept the former alternative, so that the conclusion is forced that there is something in football which mankind cannot readily afford to lose.

Just what that something is we can best appreciate—and an understanding of it is surely of practical significance—if we first inquire into the meaning of play and games in general, seeking aid from those men of science who have diligently tried to answer the really important question, What and why is play? There are three principal theories: One, formulated by Herbert Spencer, declares that play is simply the utilization of surplus nervous energy in activities having no serious end but serving the excellent purpose of giving needed exercise to growing muscles. Distinct from this is a theory launched by the well-known European scientist Dr. Groos, by whom play is defined as an instinct implanted in the young as a means of aiding in the development of every faculty—the mental as well as the physical—for future serious use. Childhood thus exists mainly to prepare the young, through play, for the business of adult life. Hence the fondness of the boy for games which mimic the activities of his elders, and of the girl for dolls and other toys and pastimes imitative of the duties of motherhood and housekeeping.

But, as an American psychologist, Professor G. T. W. Patrick, has recently pointed out, neither of these theories, as it stands, is adequate to explain why people like to witness games as well as take part in them. Professor Patrick accordingly advances a third theory, differing markedly from the foregoing and based on certain discoveries of anthropology. In play, summing up his theory in a few words, we have a temporary reversion to the life of primitive man.

"To use a biological term," explains Professor Patrick, "it is known that the child 'recapitulates' the life history of the race. Just why he does so biologists are not able to say; but the evidences, particularly in embryology, are striking enough. So far as concerns the plays of children, the explanation may not be far to seek. If we look upon the history of man as a development of the will, as an advance by means of effort, attention, and concentration, it is easy to see that these later and more difficult achievements are ill fitted to the immature child. He must, to be sure, be physically and mentally active, but his activity will be along the lines of least effort—that is, of old race habits. The child is 'the heir of all the ages,' and inherits at birth the old time-worn brain paths whose use makes little draft upon his easily fatigued nerve centers. By and by he will have to check these primitive tendencies, and by education and effort to bring the newer and higher centers into use. So, without will, effort, or fatigue, he follows the manner of life of his savage or half-savage ancestors."

Now, the argument continues, this tendency to revert to the ways of primitive man persists beyond the childhood period, and for much the same reason as in the case of the child—namely, use of the older brain paths in order to allow the newer and higher centers to rest. Accordingly, we should expect to find those games the most favored—from the point of view of both player and spectator—which are most strongly reminiscent of the life of our early ancestors. This is what actually occurs. Football, for example, that most popular of games, and the one with which we are immediately concerned, with its running, pushing, hauling, and kicking, its lively scrimmages and its restless moving up and down the field, recalls more strongly than any other game that stage in the evolution of man when his existence depended on his brute strength, fleetness of foot, and ability to cope with his fellows in hand-to-hand conflict.

Undoubtedly this anthropological theory of play sheds a flood of light on the problem of why games take the particular forms they do, although I must say that it seems to me a pretty difficult matter to determine in how far inheritance and in how far imitation are the controlling factors in game formation. But it is certainly in error in its tacit assumption that the great object of play is rest. If that were so, the same end could be more easily gained by sitting quietly instead of

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plunging into games which put a more or less severe strain on one's powers of endurance, and which inevitably involve fatigue. Least of all would any man in his senses, if it were merely a question of rest, engage in such a strenuous game as football; and no one would cross the road, to say nothing of journeying long distances, to see a game that tends so strongly as football does to cause one to leap from his seat in excitement, shout himself hoarse, and gesticulate until he can scarcely raise his arms. Decidedly, the primary function of play is not rest.

What we actually have to do, if we wish to get to the root of the matter, is to regard all three of the theories above outlined as supplementary to, rather than contradictory of, one another, and as making specific and important contributions to a complete theory of play. More especially, however, we must emphasize the influence exercised upon the play impulse by the existence of what Herbert Spencer used to call "the superabounding energy" of the human animal. All young creatures—children equally with colts, puppies, and kittens—play, Spencer rightly asserted, because they have to "let off steam." It is for precisely the same reason, I am persuaded, that grown men and women chiefly find pleasure in playing and in watching games.

Every one of us, when in normal health, acquires, through the ordinary processes of sleep, nutrition, circulation, respiration, etc., a fund of nervous energy which is more than sufficient for the demands made upon us by our usual vocations and avocations. We are so constituted that, although we may, and actually do, store up some of this surplus for use in times of emergency, we cannot retain all of it. We must get rid of part, work it off in some way. And the obvious way is through play, especially through play outdoors, because we are thereby not simply disposing of unneeded energy, but are also drawing upon the mind and body building resources of nature to fit us better for our daily tasks, whatever they may happen to be.

Note well, also, that if we do not resort to play we may be tempted to expend this energy surplus in ways most harmful to us and to society. For play is not the only avenue open for the liberation of excess energy. Undue use of intoxicants and drugs, gambling, sexual vices—all these are means by which too many strive for and attain the same end, though at the cost of moral, mental, and physical wreckage. Play itself may be carried to extremes, until it is open to the reproach of dissipating energy required for the activities of the working life. But this is comparatively seldom the case, particularly in our complex modern civilization, with its stern insistence on sustained, serious effort as the price of survival. Most people, on the contrary, find it difficult to take sufficient time for play, and for a still larger number it is out of the question to participate in games—like golf, tennis, baseball, cricket, lacrosse, and football—which demand, over and above a certain amount of physical fitness, considerable practice to acquire any skill in their execution. Fortunately, it is not necessary for one to take an active part in such games in order to derive benefit from them; their energy-liberating qualities may be utilized by merely watching others play them, and the more readily in proportion as they are games of concerted, unflagging action, appealing to one's emotional side and causing one entirely to forget for the time the cares and worries of the daily grind.

This, beyond any doubt, constitutes the real charm and value of football to the spectator. It is the game of games to "take a man out of himself." His attention is held keenly and constantly concentrated on the struggle in progress. There are not the frequently recurring and tedious waits incidental to baseball. It embraces a greater variety of play than do those other noble games of action, lacrosse and hockey. It is far "snappier" than cricket. In the spectacle of its numerous contestants all energetically engaged, it possesses a massive effect stimulating to the imagination in an incomparably higher degree than such two, three, or four men games as tennis and golf.

"Suggestion" also plays a part, and most of all at the big intercollegiate games, where the singing of the cheering sections, the music of the band, and the incessant waving of the college colors all work for

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self-forgetfulness. Add the influence of the atavistic factor emphasized by Professor Patrick, and it is no longer hard to understand why, at a football game, the most sedate of scholars, lawyers, brokers, or railway presidents is impelled to throw aside conventional restraints and act in a manner which in a cooler moment he would look back upon with astonishment. He need feel no regret, though, for, after all, to "let one's self go" sometimes is really most beneficial. From the spectator's standpoint, football, whatever else is to be said of it, is a superb moral safety-valve.

So is this likewise as regards the player, but in his case it is also much more. Here both the exercise theory of Spencer and the practice and preparation theory of Groos are distinctly applicable. Football obviously is an excellent game to strengthen the muscles, and, although perhaps less obviously, it is an effective help in equipping the player for life's duties and responsibilities. In many ways it disciplines his mind, training, for instance, his faculties of memory, observation, and decision. In this respect, so far as concerns the game in the United States, it will be even more valuable under the rules put in force this year than it was under the old rules, for the new game, as all who have seen it will appreciate, puts a premium on thoroughness and alertness of thinking. The suddenness and rapidity with which plays may be varied, the necessity of being constantly on the watch to anticipate some shrewd move by the other side, the instant and resourceful planning needed to remedy an unlooked-for weakness in defense, make assuredly for the development of just those mental traits most helpful to success not only on the football field but in the larger arena of the world.

Football has been vehemently criticised, as was observed, because it is a "fighting game," but even this is one of its merits. As President Hall, of Clark University, has well said: "An able-bodied young man who cannot fight physically can hardly have a high and true sense of honor, and is generally a milksop, a lady-boy, or a sneak. He lacks virility, his masculinity does not ring true, his honesty cannot be sound to the core. Hence, instead of eradicating this instinct, one of the great problems of physical and moral pedagogy is rightly to temper and direct it." As an instrument to this end football is admirable. It does tend, as some critics have sneeringly declared, to bring out any underlying meanness there may be in a player; but, having brought it out, it tends still more strongly to do away with it. The "tripper," the "slugger," the unfair player of any sort, is usually despised even by his own team-mates, to whose advantage his tactics would naturally redound, and, if the coach and captain are the right kind, he is forced pretty quickly either to change his ways or get off the team.

I could cite many stories illustrative of the truth that football is a wonderful aid to self-revelation and to self-mastery. Here is one, told by President Thwing, of Western Reserve, who is a firm believer in the game as a help to mental and moral development. "I recall that in one football season," he says, "a junior, who was one of the best men on the eleven, said to me that he had decided to quit playing. In answer to my inquiry respecting the reason, he said he could not keep himself from doing mean things to the man opposite. I was surprised, for I had always judged the student to be a man of fine character. I asked, 'But don't the officials keep you from breaking the rules?' 'Oh,' said he, 'I can slug the fellow, or kick him, or do him up easily enough, and no official will ever be the wiser.' I may add that my advice to the student was to stay in the game, and, staying, to make himself a man worthy to play the game. He did stay. In answer to inquiries of mine afterward made he said that he thought he was doing better."

Finally, football teaches that necessary lesson that, while no one, however brilliant, can win the game by his unaided efforts, he may lose the game for his side by his slackness or cowardice, or by his failure to co-operate with his mates. So, in the words of an English football authority, Mr. G. L. Paten, "the player gets some elementary conception of the salient truth that the great results in this world are attained only when men work loyally and heartily together for the attainment of a common end. He learns also that self-

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restraint which is one of the three virtues which lead up to sovereign power. He learns pluck, and he learns how to concentrate his effort; he learns, above all, justice to an opponent, and that the essential condition for corporate action is the strict adherence to law. He must not only play up; he must play the game.

"'Stolen goods aren't worth a straw;
Honesty's the better law.
Please remember, never jaw,
Play the game!'"

THE VETERAN OF SEVENTY-SIX

BY ELSIE SINGMASTER

MY great-grandfather told me this story in 1886, when I was a child and he was exactly as old as the century, having been born in 1800. They say that he was never a loquacious man, and age seemed to have increased his natural reserve. So far as I know, this was the only story he ever told. Considering it now, I realize that he must have rehearsed it, brooded upon it, selected its important details, discarded all others, his own romance among them, until it lay as clearly outlined in his mind as a slender tower in a flat landscape. It was not in the least the garrulous tale of an old man, it was the compressed, pruned story of a Maupassant.

He must have had many other interesting experiences; he assisted as an ardent Federalist in venomous political campaigns and historical liberty-pole demonstrations, fought in the Mexican War, and became by the time of the Civil War a great political force in his own section. But he would talk of none of them. He said invariably, when coaxed for a story, "I will tell you about the old man on the mountain."

The story, to which three generations listened breathless, was part of a bitter campaign of about 1823. The War of 1812 was past, the Mexican War still in the dim future, the questions of the Monroe Doctrine and the Missouri Compromise were not vital issues in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, in this "era of good feeling" a gubernatorial election was conducted with a ferocity of which my great-grandfather said we could have no conception. It was more bitter than the campaign of '59, more abounding in violent personal hatred, more free in its use of bribes and insult. Men were "infuriate bigots," "unmitigated liars," "dastardly scoundrels," even "emissaries of Satan." Great-Grandfather was a Federalist, not because he had at this time any conscientious political opinions, but because Sarah Allen, with whom he was in love and whom he afterwards married, was the daughter of the most virulent Federalist in the county. Sarah was apparently in love also, and her father had practically given his consent—at least he had let the courting proceed without any interference. Then, like the cunning old gentleman he was, he concluded to put Great-Grandfather's devotion to some use. He told Great-Grandfather one June day that he might marry Sarah provided he could suggest and arrange a Federalist demonstration which would surpass in originality the approaching Democratic celebration.

At first Great-Grandfather felt that his case was hopeless. The Democrats were to go about the neighborhood in hay-wagons, each drawn by eight horses, gather up the faithful and all others who could be influenced, and, after a parade through the village, have speech-making and a barbecue in the square. Great-Grandfather himself had marveled at their fertility of mind. The celebration would combine all desirable qualities, it would be well worth witnessing as a spectacle, and it would satisfy the universal human fondness for getting something for nothing. Not only were great slices of roast ox to be served to all comers, but bread and butter and pickles and beer.

For a week Great-Grandfather did little

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but despair. He consulted with Sarah; they discussed fifty plans and dismissed each one as impossible. One would cost too much—Sarah's father was not a generous man, and he would have to bear most of the expense; another, which included a good deal of firing of pistols, would be likely to get the party into trouble. The burgess was a Democrat; he would be only too happy to have an excuse for arresting them.

Presently Sarah divulged, not without some coquettish satisfaction, that her father had made the same offer to other young Federalists who constantly hung about the honey-pot.

Then Great-Grandfather left his work, took his gun, and went hunting on the mountain back of the village. Even until he was ninety years old he used to go away alone to settle important problems. It must have been an accepted custom, for neither my father nor my grandfather ever showed any sign of anxiety over his absences.

On this occasion he tramped away gloomily. I have no idea what sort of clothes he wore, but I am sure he was handsome—he was still handsome at ninety. A description of himself was one of the details he omitted.

I imagine that he shot little game. He could not have stopped long enough to stalk any creature, because by noon he had reached the top of the mountain and was going down on the other side. He did not keep to the road, which climbed almost to the summit, and he was surprised to find himself presently on a mountain path for whose existence he could not account. It was not that the path was at all mysterious; he was not very well acquainted with that section of the mountain, and the path might easily have been there for fifty years and he be unaware of it. What surprised him was that there should be a path so near and parallel to the highway. If there were a house at its end, approach would have been infinitely easier by a path leading directly in from the road. It was evident that its maker sought privacy.

Great-Grandfather, being young and curious, set out at once to explore. At the end of a short journey he found a little log house and a wizened old man. It was not a Rip Van Winkle adventure; the old man and his house were as real as Great-Grandfather himself. The old man was a Revolutionary veteran; his face was scarred by a great cut; his rusted gun hung on the walls of the filthy little cabin; he talked, mumbling, of Brandywine and Chadd's Ford.

He accepted a drink from Great-Grandfather's flask—there were no temperance societies in those days—and then he consented to the plan which came to Great-Grandfather's mind like an inspiration from heaven. For a consideration of ten dollars he would come down to the village in three weeks and address a Federalist meeting. He would not be able to say much, and it was probable that only those within a few yards would be able to hear what he did say, but the mere sight of him would rouse patriotic and political fervor to its highest pitch. The Revolution was not yet so far in the past that the survival of the old man was remarkable, but it so happened that there were no other survivors in the neighborhood. He would be far more interesting than any barbecue. Great-Grandfather was already planning what the presiding officer should say.

"We have with us, my friends, a survivor of that mighty, that Titantic"—it was a day of large words—"that Titanic struggle, that victorious struggle for the principles which are to-day blazoned high on the banners of the Federalist party, that struggle, those principles, which—which—" Great-Grandfather always stopped here in his report of the speech which he planned; he was not an orator, and he was apt to get entangled in whiches.

He came down from the mountain jubilantly and told Sarah's father, who was as delighted as he. It was agreed that nothing should be said, not even to Sarah or the other Federalists, about the character of their extraordinary exhibit. It should be spread abroad that there would be a meeting, with ample refreshments, and then, when the county was assembled, they would bring forth their veteran. Great-Grandfather should go for him in good time on the great day, so that he might help him to make at least a partial toilet. New clothes were discussed, but

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it was agreed that he would be more impressive as he was, or almost as he was. With hands in his pockets, with mind unruffled, Great-Grandfather sauntered about, listening smilingly to the boasts and taunts of the Democrats, devoting his evenings to Sarah Allen, and chuckling constantly to himself.

Of course Sarah wished to see the Democratic celebration. Escorted by her father and her lover, she went to the square and waited about with the crowd for the thirty hay-wagons which were to bring the triumphant procession. She looked down into the walled pit where the great ox was roasting; she exchanged greetings with friends.

The thirty wagons were a long time coming. The crowd, to Great-Grandfather's delight, grew impatient; they called for Federalist speeches, and Sarah's father was about to respond, when there came a distant blowing of horns and ringing of bells. The Democrats were arriving.

They swept into the square with yells and shouts, which were answered enthusiastically by their friends and jeeringly by the Federalists. The fat farm horses curvetted, the colors waved in the breeze. There was no disputing the magnificence of the spectacle. The village had never seen anything to approach it.

But Great-Grandfather was not at all disturbed. He said to himself that he had a trick worth a hundred of theirs. He helped Sarah Allen up to a horse-block from which she could see over the heads of the crowd, he supported her boldly with his arm, and then—

The last delegation of Democrats had jumped down from the hay-wagon, their orators were climbing the rickety steps to the platform, the speeches were about to begin. And in the midst of the enemy, tenderly supported, decked with a flag, clad in a brand-new imitation of the patriot's uniform of the Revolutionary War, was Great-Grandfather's discovery, the battle-scarred Veteran of Seventy-six!

At sight of him the crowd grew absolutely quiet. He produced exactly the effect which Great-Grandfather had anticipated; he was stared at with reverential awe. Even the Democrats themselves ceased their triumphant howling. It was an occasion the like of which occurs but a few times in a man's life. Great-Grandfather's ninety interesting years held nothing to compare with it. Men ceased to breathe. Their hearts filled for once with pure love of country, adoration of liberty, for which this old man had fought. The dim past returned to them, they contemplated its wounds, which had been suffered that they might be free.

In the crowd only two persons did not look at the old man. One was Great-Grandfather, who stared aghast at Sarah's father, the other was Sarah's father himself, who snarled at Great-Grandfather.

"You fool!" he said. "They've tricked you!"

Sarah, who knew nothing of her father's and her lover's plans, oh'd and ah'd with the rest, then her eyes filled with tears. At sight of her emotion Great-Grandfather said he could have wept also—with rage. He could not guess how they had discovered the old man. They could not have stumbled upon him by accident—there were no mountain wanderers among the Democrats. He did not suspect then the veteran's perfidy. The old man was not yet entirely in his dotage; he was not ignorant of the political situation in the valley far below his hermit's cabin; he had guessed that, if one could get ten dollars for appearing at a Federalist meeting, one might get even more for siding with the richer and more popular party. Tottering feebly down the mountain, he had sought out the Democrats and had put himself in their pay. He had already had twenty dollars—to that sundry bottles stowed away in his hut bore testimony—and he had this fine new suit.

The Democrat who introduced him made a long speech. He had complete mastery of his "whiches," he used longer words than any Great-Grandfather had dreamed of; he said, finally, that there had come to him at this moment the greatest honor of his life, the opportunity to introduce "the noble, the distinguished guest, the Veteran of Seventy-six."

As the old man rose feebly and stood still, apparently seeking words, the silence deepened. He seemed infinitely old, yet there was the spirit of youth in his bright, sunken eye and the lift of his shoulders. They had taught him a speech. Great-Grandfather heard afterwards that it also

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had to do with "the principles which are to-day blazoned high"—only now it was on the banners of the Democratic party.

It was a long time before he was able to begin; then his voice rose with astonishing power, high, shrill, like an old woman's. Perhaps he saw Great-Grandfather's sick, disappointed face in the crowd, and, pitying him, wished to make amends for his cheating; perhaps he did not know what he said. Half a century of rage seemed to flame out in one mad taunt, uncontrollable, heroic. An Israelite lingering in hated Babylon might have spoken similarly. He screamed at them, defied them, mocked them, tearing the colors from his coat.

"I did not fight for you!" he shouted. "I fought against you, cursed rebels that you are!" And then, in a shriller, madder voice, he cried, "God save the King! God save the King!"

THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF OUR EX-PRESIDENTS

BY CONKLIN MANN

"WHAT shall we do with our ex-Presidents?" is a question often asked by those who have never considered the past long enough to appreciate what American ex-Presidents have done for their country.

It is not surprising to find, considering their training and success, that the main interest of the "senior citizens of the Nation" has always been political. It follows normally that strong Executives after leaving office remain prominent figures, exerting powerful political influence.

A retiring Executive, using precedent as a staff to steady his course, would have great difficulty in choosing his road, for the ways of his predecessors are as varied as their personal characteristics. No rules but the dictates of conscience have bound them, from first to last. Many stayed strict party men; one became the country's greatest independent; several discontinued active work in partisan politics, but freely gave political counsel; others threw themselves into hot campaigns; a fair percentage sought office; a smaller percentage refused it.

From among the twenty Presidents who have retired from the White House, Polk and Arthur died so soon after leaving office that they had little opportunity to show their later worth. Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan were lost in that battle of giants which raged for twenty years before the Civil War. Tyler died in the Confederate Congress as a member from Virginia, a States' rights man to the end. In the heat of the slavery contest Fillmore, four years after retiring, again entered the lists as a Presidential candidate, and ran on a platform which did not even mention the all-absorbing question; with Pierce and Buchanan, he remained a Union man when war came, although the Presidential policy of all had been Southern. Later on Hayes and Benjamin Harrison sank into political oblivion.

As Washington's second term drew to a close, he gave his friends to understand that he intended to retire. He made no public declaration against taking a third term until the Farewell Address. He welcomed retirement as men with their spurs to win welcome public office. He seems, nevertheless, to have considered that it might be necessary for him to hold over another term if trouble with France became too acute. He believed that usefulness as President increased with service, a sentiment echoed in the Farewell Address when, after mentioning the "farewell" prepared at the end of his first term and the pressing circumstances which caused his acceptance of a second term, he wrote:

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination

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incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire."

The Federalist party had been built up in support of Washington's Administration, though he consistently refused to be classed as a partisan. Once out of office, he came out frankly as a Federalist. At Mount Vernon he kept in close touch with active members of the party, and followed, or rather anticipated, political events. One cannot think of him as doing otherwise. His party continued to look at him, unconsciously one might say, as its head, instead of at Adams, who lacked personal popularity and the support of Hamilton.

The year after his retirement matters with France came to such a head that Congress voted to raise a provisional army of ten thousand men. Adams immediately asked Washington to assume command. He accepted on condition that his commanding officers were men of whom he approved, and that he should not be called into the field unless it were necessary. He insisted that Hamilton be second in command. Adams, much disgusted, tried to avoid this appointment, but Washington was firm and Adams yielded. It was the only occasion of friction between Washington and his successor, but also the only time when Washington's close personal interests were involved. For the remaining year and a half of his life Washington carried on an enormous correspondence with his generals, and from Mount Vernon supervised the raising of the troops.

Just as Washington upheld Adams, so did he look upon the work of Jefferson and his party with distrust. He wrote to the President that officers in the new army should be of "sound politics," and appears to have believed that the Anti-Federalists would betray the country either in Congress or the army.

Clouds were everywhere in the closing year of his life, when again friends urged him toward a third term. They argued that he would bring harmony to the Federalists, now torn asunder. In his refusal to do this, he said that in the election personal influence would have no effect, as the opposition would vote *in toto* for a broomstick if it were called a true son of liberty—a Jefferson man. He said that he felt unequal to the task if elected, and couldn't draw a single vote from the opposition anyway. If he could accomplish a great public good by running, he would do so, but felt certain "that principle, not men, is now and will be the object of contention," and therefore that another Federalist would run as well.

The careers of John Adams and Grover Cleveland as ex-Presidents may well be considered together. Each retired out of favor with a majority of his party; the opposition came into power with their retirement, and the party policy which each had stood for was swept away when the Federalists went under the control of Hamilton and the Democrats under that of Bryan. It was some years before either came to be looked upon in a kindly way by old supporters, though both finally attained high places in the public esteem.

John Adams, disappointed and bitter, upon reaching home set about to answer the attacks of Hamilton, but never finished the work. When the younger Adams, repudiating the Federalists, supported Jefferson's embargo policy, the older man came out with what sounded greatly like a defense of the Administration. Old enemies attacked him, and for the next three years the columns of a Boston newspaper were filled with his own defense of his action. In old age he and Jefferson renewed their earlier friendship.

When James Monroe was re-elected, John Adams was a Presidential elector for him. Eight years later Monroe refused to return the compliment by serving as an elector for the younger Adams. At eighty-five John Adams, as a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, strove vainly to win acknowledgment of equal political and religious rights for all men, regardless of faith.

Parton wrote that the inauguration of Madison did little but change the signature on public documents, so great was the harmony between Jefferson and his successor. Madison consulted him on every important subject, and referred all live questions to him. The letters of the

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two seem to bear out this statement, and show that Jefferson's influence was of the strongest. His own Administration had ended in gloom; he had lost Congress, but had held a great personal following to his standard, as, it has been said, only a war hero could be expected to do. Jefferson virtually dictated Madison's election, after being his chief for years. The two were close personal friends, and with Monroe formed a trio of ex-Presidents who, growing old together almost as neighbors, met frequently and were closely in touch with each other.

When Jefferson retired, he sought to become a political philosopher and chief counsel for his party. He succeeded. The hundreds of visitors at Monticello also made him much of an active man of the world. For a time after reaching home his letters to Madison were frequent in the extreme, but the rising grumble that the President was but the mouthpiece of his predecessor checked their activities. Jefferson fell into the habit of spending a few weeks with Madison when the President was home in the summer. At such times the two would talk over the policy of the Administration.

In 1812 close friends went to Jefferson and, pleading that the country was in need of a more forceful Executive than Madison, asked him to try for the Presidency again. Declining, he pleaded advanced age and Washington's example. Soon after this Madison requested him to become Secretary of State, but this, too, the former President refused to do. He had already played the part of the dove of peace when the Cabinet became involved in unpleasantness. With the passing of the Missouri Compromise, Jefferson felt trouble ahead, but could not see what it was. Though opposed to slavery as an institution, he believed that by spreading it through the West it would be weakened and its final abolition made easier.

The second and third decades of the past century formed a golden age for a school of philosophic-theoretic Presidents who in and out of office shared each other's burdens as no other men in a similar position have since done. An active Executive freely wrote to his two intimates, and they answered as freely from their Virginia plantations. It might be said that Jefferson was much more than a Cabinet officer to Madison, and that both had great power in the two administrations of Monroe, who was exceedingly susceptible to their advice. Thus the brains of three men worked in harmony over such problems as the second English war, the Hartford Convention, the tariff, and the Monroe Doctrine. These men as retired Presidents were not active in political campaigns, since the field was all their own; for after the English war no party worth mentioning opposed them, and all their effort was expended in working out the Government policy.

Like all other Presidents having influence with their successors, Madison was besieged with office-seekers after leaving Washington. To such he sent a circular letter to the effect that, because of his personal friendship with the President, he did not care to impose upon the latter's good will, as "such an abuse of his disposition toward me" would transform him (Madison) "from the character of a friend to that of an unreasonable and troublesome solicitant." He therefore begged to be excused.

Jefferson and Madison did much to bring about Monroe's election, but later, as ex-Presidents, Madison and Monroe became the first to stand entirely aloof from certain phases of partisan politics, namely, selections.

In 1829 Madison and Monroe were elected to the Virginian Constitutional Convention. Monroe tried in vain to persuade Madison to become the president. Young blood did most of the work, but gave the older men respectful attention. Once Madison voted alone, for he was aging. Though poor as a speaker, he wrote vigorously. In his old age he spent much time in figuring how to get rid of slavery. He was much distressed by the nullification movement in South Carolina, being a Unionist. When he died, a paper, "Advice to My Country," was found. In it he said in part:

"As this advice, if it ever see the light, will not do it till I am no more, it may be considered as coming from the tomb, where the truth alone can be refuted and the happiness of man alone consulted. . . . The advice nearest to my heart and deep-

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est in my convictions is that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as a Pandora with her box opened, and the disguised one as the serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise."

Monroe, who had often consulted with Jefferson and Madison, never got a chance to give advice to any great degree to his successor. Soon after leaving the White House he received a suggestion that he accept a mission to the South American Republics, then playing a prominent part in the world's politics. After telling of his friendly feeling for the writer, he continues:

"I view also the suggestion which you make of my accepting employment under the Executive in a mission to our Southern neighbors in the same light, and am far from thinking that a person who has held the office from which I lately retired should either be precluded from the acceptance, or should decline the call of his government, to any other in which it might be thought that he would be able to render essential service, provided he could do it without serious injury and distress to himself."

His wife's illness and financial matters were his excuse for declining. Later he became a local magistrate.

In Gilman's life of Monroe, Judge E. R. Watson, a friend, gives this sketch of the ex-President:

"One striking peculiarity about Mr. Monroe was his sensitiveness, his timidity in reference to public sentiment. I do not mean as it respected his past public life. . . . But in retirement his great care seemed to be to do and say nothing unbecoming in an ex-President of the United States. He thought it incumbent on him to have nothing to do with party politics. This was beneath the dignity of an ex-President, and it was unjust to the people, who had so highly honored him, to seek to throw the weight of his name and character on either side of any contest between them. Hence Mr. Monroe, after retiring from office, rarely, if ever, expressed his opinions of public men or measures except confidentially."

Judge Watson had heard him in private discuss Jackson, Calhoun, Clay, and others, but adds:

"I cannot recall more than a single instance in which, in company, he expressed any opinion as to the character or conduct of prominent public men, excepting in so far as he could approve and commend them. On one occasion John Randolph of Roanoke was the subject of discussion among several gentlemen present, who differed widely in their estimates of his character and services.

"Finally Mr. Monroe was appealed to for his opinion by one of Mr. Randolph's admirers, in a way which indicated that the party addressing him scarcely expected any direct answer. Very promptly, however, Mr. Monroe replied: 'Well, Mr. Randolph is, I think, a capital hand to pull down, but I am not aware that he has ever exhibited much skill as a builder.'"

But men followed who were not afraid to come down from the heights of Olympus. These men led the multitude, not from the clouds, but from the floor of the Capitol and the stump. They were on the same democratic level on which their fellow-citizens stood. Moral issues took the place of political philosophy, and, just as Jefferson and his friends had done a great work in winning the early battles for popular government, so did these later champions become the warriors for the whole people, one putting all white men on an equal plane, a second battling for the negro and civilization against slavery, and a third becoming a champion of moral issues which, though he longed for a return to the White House, he would not cast aside when tempted. To push their purposes these men fought desperately in hot political campaigns, for party lines had again been formed when John Quincy Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren were ex-Presidents. No other former Executives ever threw themselves back into active work as did these men: Adams as a Representative in Congress for sixteen years, Van Buren thrice struggling for a second term yet playing the game as he had never played it before, and Jackson a dictator of Democratic policies and candidates for eight years. These men worked shoulder to shoulder with others who had not won their spurs; they went back into the ranks. Through it all Adams and Jackson kept up their feud until the end. One question vitally affected the ex-Presidential careers

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of all three—the annexation of Texas. That question gave Adams his stimulus, represented Jackson's fondest dream, and proved the complete undoing of Van Buren.

No other ex-President has done as much hard work as John Quincy Adams did. He was dominated by a passion for moral ideas. In fighting his political battles after leaving the Presidency he called into play not only the highest moral courage, but also a physical courage in the face of dangers which threatened him as personal danger has threatened few American statesmen. He fought the battle of the slave, and fought it in Congress as that body's first great agitator of the question. He knew the value of agitation in battling against such odds in such a cause. It may be said that the best in him came out after he left the White House. He felt, when he retired from the Presidency, that after a life spent in the public service he had proved a failure, unable to win a second term as the Nation's head. Some one suggested that he go to Congress from the Plymouth district, remarking at the time that the step would not degrade the ex-President but would elevate the representative tone. Adams replied:

"No person could be degraded by serving the people as a representative in Congress. Nor, in my opinion, could an ex-President of the United States be degraded by serving as a selectman of his town, if elected by the people."

He won an election and entered as a National Republican or Whig, but from the first declared that he would respect no partisan lines. He looked for no personal advancement, and, working independently, proved a thorn in the side of slavery, for he was dedicated to checking the system. The final call found him a minority leader in his seat in Congress. He had then won many of his points.

As a Representative he was poor in friends but rich in enemies. He fought Jackson's Administration, and his diary is rich in denunciation of his great rival and the Southern element. Once or twice he supported the President when Jackson was in sad need of such support. In commenting on this he wrote that he got in return only "insult, indignity, and slander." Of him Jackson in turn wrote at a later day: "How degrading the scenes in the House of Representatives! It is painful that an old man, who must be deranged or superlatively wicked, should be permitted to disgrace our country by such behavior; his constituents ought to call him home, and the House at once should censure him and proceed with business; and if he again misbehaves, expel him." Nevertheless, despite the fierce opposition of financial interests, and of the "aristocracy," or at least that portion which was in sympathy with the South, despite the bitter hatred of the slavery men, and the disgust of Boston, the sturdy old Puritan farmers of Plymouth gave Adams their confidence, believing as he did, and returned him term after term. Often Adams dared his enemies to expel him. Well he knew his strength. Adams looked upon himself as a servant of the entire country, and argued that as an ex-President his responsibilities in this line were greater than those of other men.

Adams's great work as the champion of anti-slavery petitions did not begin when he first entered the House. More violent against nullification than Jackson, he became thoroughly alarmed when the annexation of Texas was proposed, for it meant another slave State. He speedily developed into a mouthpiece in Congress for the abolition element. The petitions asking for the abolition of slavery which came to him were numbered by hundreds, and so well did he champion them that the title "Old Man Eloquent" was given him; yet his only claim as an orator in that day was that he had something to say worth listening to.

Few enjoyed debating with him. Perhaps the greatest student of American politics of his time, he was also the master of the bitterest tongue in the mouth of any public man. It was a lash, a firebrand, and a sword in one. Of his work in the House it is impossible to speak here in detail. He was chairman of important committees, and once, at the time of the organization of the Twenty-sixth Congress, saved the House from chaos. The clerk had refused to call the roll past a contested delegation from New Jersey, and, acting as temporary Chairman, had also refused to put any motions.

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Three days had been spent in wrangling, when Adams addressed the House, called upon it "to organize itself," moved that the clerk be instructed to call the roll, and then put the question himself.

Jackson retired from the White House more popular than when he entered, after naming his successor, as he thought for two terms. His parting commands to his friends were to annex Texas and look out for the Oregon boundary. In the boundary dispute he wished the country to get "54–40 or fight." Leaving Washington, he said he washed his hands of politics. But back in Tennessee they gave him a dinner at which he told Mrs. Polk, according to her story, that the Presidential scepter would soon return to Tennessee and her own fair self should be the queen. Jackson corresponded much with Van Buren, and seemed pleased with his administration, so that after three years he forced Van Buren's renomination, in the face of no little opposition. Jackson took the stump for his candidate in the West and worked hard, but it cannot be said wisely. When the Whigs under Harrison carried the election, Jackson took his medicine and began to lay pipes for the next election. He was an old man, in the poorest of health, but his spirit and popularity were of the greatest, and Democrats in North and South looked upon him as capable of making or breaking a candidate. Now came sharp work inside the party. Van Buren, up to his defeat by Harrison, had been able to count on Jackson's support. But it became known that he did not favor the immediate annexation of Texas, Jackson's pet scheme, and the New York man's enemies set about to destroy him on this issue. There is little doubt about Jackson's part in this contest. Slavery men obtained from him a letter favoring the immediate annexation of Texas. They put it aside for use later. Gradually they drew from Van Buren a public letter against the Texas resolution. Van Buren made his position clear, and then the Jackson letter was produced. Apparently disgusted with the trick which had been played on him, Jackson hastened to write a second letter in which he said that he thought so much of Van Buren that the Texas question would make no difference between them. Nevertheless, he failed to mention the Presidency, and the public saw the old allies seemingly at odds, politically if not personally. From this and other points, there is good reason to believe that Jackson did not consider Van Buren a desirable candidate in 1844.

Van Buren never pursued a braver course than when he made no effort to dodge the Texas issue, even though it was apparent that his position as accentuated by Jackson's letter would cost him the nomination. He was the choice of a majority of the delegates at the Convention, but could not overcome the two-thirds rule. Polk, whom admirers called "a whole-hogged Democrat," was nominated and elected. Polk consulted Jackson, but not Van Buren, about his Cabinet selections. Jackson did not approve of Buchanan as Secretary of State. Polk recalled that Jackson had sent Buchanan as Minister to Russia.

"Yes, I did," shouted the General. "It was as far as I could send him out of sight, and where he would do the least harm. I would have sent him to the North Pole if we had had a Minister there." Which went to show the frankness with which Jackson addressed one President, and what he thought about a later Executive. Jackson died that summer, after Polk's inauguration. It was said that hard campaigning killed him.

Jackson's last letter was written to Polk, who mentions it in his diary as a "confidential letter of friendship communicating information touching on the official conduct of a person high in office, in reference to which General Jackson in his dying moments thought it proper to put me on my guard." So the "Old Hero" stood by until the end.

Van Buren's last battle was as the Free Soil candidate for President in 1848. Polk's coming into power marked the downfall of the Unionist Democrats of the Van Buren type of the early Jacksonian epoch. The slavery wing or Separatists had taken command of the party. Jackson died too soon to see the significance of this victory which he had done much to bring about, and which in reality elevated the very men he had fought against for so long, for he was a strong Unionist. The Free Soil platform opposed

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the extension of slavery, and it worked out its purpose to some extent, for the votes for Van Buren defeated General Cass, the Democratic candidate. Had Van Buren not then hesitated, he would undoubtedly have gone down in history alongside of John Quincy Adams; but after defeating Cass and elevating the Whigs he once more swung back into the Democratic party and voted against the Republican candidates and for slavery men in later elections. Thus he lost his great opportunity to pursue consistently the slavery question. Perhaps old age caused this faltering when a great opportunity was before him, for twice had he proved his courage on this issue.

Andrew Johnson, after leaving the White House, engaged in a long struggle to regain control of Tennessee, and, following several defeats, was elected to the United States Senate, only to die soon afterward, though not before he had made a bitter attack on General Grant. General Grant's activity as an ex-President was confined to the unsuccessful efforts of his friends to put him into office a third time. Never a statesman, and with only great personal popularity to back him, he came so near winning that only a compromise candidate of his great rivals succeeded in defeating him.

Thus we find that, taking as a precedent the activity of Washington, who in the closing years of his life resumed service under the Government, and even expressed the willingness, should a great emergency arise, to re-enter public office, many of his successors during the next seventy-five years continued to keep up an active interest in politics. Either by counseling the officers of the Government or by personal work among the people, they gave to their country the benefit of their experience and broad knowledge. These ex-Presidents believed it their duty to accept service under the Government when called upon, and to keep in close touch with National affairs—a course that up to the present time has had its fullest and noblest development in the later career of John Quincy Adams, who, dedicating his life to his country, fought his brave fight in the interests of progress and humanity. Though his position as ex-President was the most honored private position in the land, he put it aside, and submitted to all manner of abuse and great physical danger in order to work for the right and the light as he saw them.

So, too, in a smaller and more selfish way, fought Martin Van Buren, though in old age he wavered and failed to reach the heights for which it would seem he once aimed. There is also the example of Andrew Jackson struggling as ex-President for Texas and Oregon, so active in campaigning for his party and in furthering his own plans for the Nation's betterment that his feeble body was brought to the grave, but not before he had given his parting advice to the President for whose election he had worked so hard. Theirs was the method of the present made necessary under a greatly broadened suffrage. Before them the great republicans from Virginia had worked for the people, but not from among the people. It was for Jackson and those coming after him to raise their voices both from among the people and for the people.

Because former Presidents Hayes and Benjamin Harrison were inactive after leaving the White House, and the voice of Grover Cleveland was seldom heard on matters of state, many have come to look upon a life of "honorable retirement free from political cares" as the natural sequel to service in the Executive Mansion. Accounts of the lives of retired Presidents do not bear out such a conclusion, for they set forth that, without exception, the greatest of our Executives have retained active interest in and have exerted powerful influence upon the Nation's political policies after leaving office.[1]

[1] Those who wish to consider this subject in greater detail may consult with advantage Stanwood's "History of the Presidency;" McClure's "Our Presidents and How We Make Them;" the "American Statesmen Series," edited by John T. Morse; McMaster's "History of the People of the United States;" J. Q. Adams's "Memoirs" and his "Life of John Adams;" Parton's "Jefferson" and "Jackson;" Buel's "Jackson." These volumes will suggest a still fuller bibliography, including the many editions of the writings of the various Presidents.

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FATALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL[1]

BY EVERETT P. WHEELER

A VERY wise and thoughtful woman has recently said:

"As we scan the great crises of historic change, the part of the free individual dwindles, and a Necessity, usually economic in origin, stands forth as the protagonist to whose secret Will all must conform."

Indeed, it seems to be one of the standard arguments of advocates of modern Socialism to insist upon the dominant influence of the spirit and tendencies of each age, and to belittle the force of leadership. This harmonizes well with their general scheme for reconstructing society. It is a comfortable doctrine, and if the New England conscience would allow us to believe it, there would be relief from the stress of benevolent activity. We need only to drift with the stream of our time and all will go well.

In all discussion of this sort it is of vital importance to avoid *a priori* reasoning and to submit every theory, however plausible, to the test of facts. That great scientist, Wolcott Gibbs, taught his classes that a theory is only a convenient method of classifying facts. Certainly the facts must be carefully examined. We need a wide induction. But if, after full and accurate investigation, the theory and the facts do not coincide, we must revise the theory. That was what happened to the old Ptolemaic theory of the movements of the heavenly bodies. To all outward appearance the sun revolved around the earth. For many centuries this proposition was firmly believed. But the observations of Copernicus and Galileo brought facts to light entirely inconsistent with this theory, and finally, with great reluctance, it was abandoned. None of us believe in it now. It behooves us, then, to test the comfortable theory that has been referred to, by the facts of history.

At the outset, however, we freely admit that there is such a thing as the *Zeitgeist*. Shakespeare expresses it in the familiar quotation:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

But the point which every one should be interested in is whether the individual does not still continue to play an essential part in navigation. The instance that is put forward by the counselor whom we have quoted is our own Civil War. It is admitted that Lincoln played an important part in the conduct of our affairs. But it is said that if he had died in infancy "the course of events would have been essentially the same." Can this proposition be substantiated? On the one side, it is obviously fallacious to infer that one thing is necessarily the cause of another because the latter succeeds the former. But is it not equally an assumption to say dogmatically that it is *not* the cause? Clearly it is necessary to analyze the sequence of events, and from this to judge of the connection. Bearing this in mind, let us refer to one very important crisis in the Civil War, that which grew out of Commodore Wilkes's seizure of Mason and Slidell. The country generally thought Wilkes was right. When he came into port, he was received with great enthusiasm. The Northern newspapers, almost without exception, rang with applause. It was very difficult for a President to overrule Wilkes in the face of this popular enthusiasm. We know now from the remarkable diary of Mr. Welles, as well as from many other sources, that it required all Lincoln's force of character and strength of will to overrule the Commodore and restore the Confederate envoys. Yet, if anything which has not actually happened can possibly be clear, it is that if Lincoln had not restored them there would have been war between Great Britain and the Northern States. The fleet of England would have broken the blockade, and the success of the North would have been impossible. That certainly would have made a difference in the history of the

[1] See editorial in this issue entitled "Liberty Under Law."—THE EDITORS.

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world, the extent of which we cannot calculate, but the greatness of which none can deny.

Look at the same crisis from the British standpoint. Lord Palmerston was then the British Premier. He resented hotly, as he always did, any insult to the British flag. It was part of his theory that the rights of an Englishman should be as sacred everywhere in the world as those of a Roman citizen used to be in the days of the Empire. The despatch which he prepared, demanding the return of the Confederate envoys, was couched in such language that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for any self-respecting nation to yield to such a demand. That great man, Prince Albert, was consulted by the Queen. They modified the despatch in such a sense as to make it easy for the United States to yield.

Here, then, we have an instance where one may assert with scientific accuracy that the continuance of the American Union or its dissolution, with all that that implies, depended upon the co-ordinate action of two great and wise men. If their conduct had been different, the result would have been different.

But one illustration, however clear, is not sufficient for scientific purposes. Let us, therefore, refer to two other notable crises in American history, one before and one after the great Civil War.

After the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, a cabal was formed to displace Washington and make Gates Commander-in-Chief. This came very near succeeding. We know now from the researches of many historians, which Mr. Oliver has recently summarized in his remarkable "Life of Hamilton," that it required all the force, courage, and tact of Washington to keep together the forces of the revolted colonies. We know also that the British Minister offered concessions in 1778 which the country would have accepted in 1775. We also know now very well what sort of man Gates was. Is it not clear that if the cabal had succeeded and Washington had been displaced, Gates could never have kept the colonies together, could never have obtained the effective support of the French army and navy, and that the Revolution would have been a failure? The colonists were the same, but under Washington they succeeded; under Gates they certainly would have failed.

Let us take another illustration, drawn from the second administration of President Cleveland. There was a time during this administration when the confidence of financiers in the adherence of the United States to the gold standard was impaired, if not lost. The spirit of the American people, led astray by the time-serving policy of almost all our public men, rather inclined to the silver standard. A remarkable cartoon of the period represents a parting of the ways which led to the White House. One finger-post marks gold standard, the other silver. Harrison, McKinley, and Reed stand at the parting of the ways, quite undecided which to take.

This condition of the public mind led our creditors to demand gold, when they could get it. There was a rapid drain upon the Treasury, and in two weeks the Treasury stock of gold would have been entirely exhausted, the country would have been put on a silver standard, and the value of all indebtedness would thereby have been reduced just one-half. The silver dollar at that time was worth fifty cents in gold and no more. From this shameful National dishonor we were saved by the courage and wisdom of one man, Grover Cleveland.

He got no help from Congress. His recommendation of additional legislation which would have enabled the Government to sell its bonds on better terms was rejected. The discredit of the Government was increased by the fact of a deficit. This was due to the unexpected decision of the Supreme Court that the income tax embodied in the Wilson Bill was unconstitutional. That source of revenue being cut off, there was naturally a deficit. The fact of the deficit and the refusal of Congress to make it good naturally increased distrust in the solvency of the Treasury. Yet the Republican majority refused to support the Treasury even by putting a tax of a dollar a barrel on beer. But Cleveland availed himself of an old statute, announced his determination to maintain the credit of the Government, and sold bonds for that purpose and succeeded.

Here, then, we have an undoubted

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instance of a single man changing the destinies of a great Nation, in opposition to the majority in both houses in Congress, and to the prevailing temper of his people. We all thank him now. A Republican Secretary of the Treasury has said that Mr. Cleveland was specially raised up by God to do this particular work. In the face of this, what becomes of the theory that the individual dwindles and that there is an overruling Necessity "to whose secret Will all must conform."

But it may justly be said that facts taken from the history of one century are an insufficient basis for general induction. Let us, then, recall two crises in the history of Great Britain which have a world importance. First, let us consider the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon race in North America. It is showing unparalleled assimilative power and extending its influence into every part of the world. That dominance we owe to the success of Great Britain in the Seven Years' War. Up to that time it seemed to all outward appearance that the French were as likely as the English to control the continent. At the beginning of that war the English generally were unsuccessful. This was due to the inefficiency and corruption of the Government. It was actually thought necessary to summon Hanoverian and Hessian regiments to the defense of the British Isles. In the previous war, but under the same reign, the Pretender with his Scottish troops marched as far as Derby, and probably would have taken London had he pushed boldly on. Leading men there packed their plate and made ready to fly to the Continent.

As Pitt declared, "The maxims of our Government were degenerated, not our natives." Port Mahon surrendered to the French. Byng refused to join battle with their fleet. Chesterfield cried in despair, "We are no longer a nation."

At this extremity of disgrace a man came to the front. William Pitt became Secretary of State. The electoral troops were sent back to Hanover. The spirit of the Great Commoner was impressed upon every branch of the service. Wolfe conquered at Quebec. Hawke cried to his pilot, who had represented the danger of the position, "Lay me alongside the French Admiral." At every point the British arms were successful. By the treaty of 1763 the French ceded Canada. This has now become a great Dominion, and is rapidly developing into one of the important factors in our complex modern civilization.

But must it not also be said that the acquisition of Canada and the consequent security of the colonies on their northern frontier were among the most powerful factors in the development of the spirit which produced the Declaration of Independence?

Let us conclude with another group of facts from English history. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

The condition of morals, both public and private, in Great Britain during the latter part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century was shocking. Of the first White says:

"William was probably the only honest man in the English Court—the only man who felt bound to do a thing because he had sworn to do it, or to abstain from doing a thing because he had sworn to abstain. The others were brought up in a school of profligacy and duplicity which only a despotic Court pretending to liberality can supply."

And as to the latter century, all contemporary accounts agree that the general tone of manners and morals was corrupt, profligate, dissolute. Swift in his "Voyage to Laputa" describes a college of madmen. One distinctive trait was the fancy that public offices could ever be bestowed for merit.

Into this pandemonium came John Wesley. He was mobbed, but persisted with undaunted courage. As he "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," every Felix trembled. There began a great religious reformation, the influence of which extended far and wide. With our present standard of righteous conduct in public and private life, it is difficult to conceive how low the standard was two hundred years ago. John Wesley raised it and carried it aloft from land to land. Certainly the spirit of God moved upon the face of the chaos and brought light and life to the dark disorder. But the influence of the individual was the most potent means to achieve the great result.

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This brief analysis of historic facts might be greatly extended. We might have compared the process of reconstruction under Andrew Johnson with what might reasonably have been expected had Abraham Lincoln lived. But enough has been said to justify the conclusion that in all our schemes for social reform we should aim first at the education and development of the individual. What thus we have done in plain prose was expressed in immortal verse by two prophets of the nineteenth century.

Lowell was a student of history. This was his conclusion upon the facts of history:

"Manhood is the one immortal thing
Beneath Time's changeful sky."

And Tennyson spoke with equal truth:

"Tho' the Giant Ages heave the hill
And break the shore, and evermore
Make and break, and work their will;
Tho' world on world in myriad myriads roll
Round us, each with different powers,
And other forms of life than ours,
What know we greater than the soul?
On God, and Godlike men, we build our trust."

THE NEW BOOKS

The story of Daniel Boone has often been told, but never, we think, more picturesquely and dramatically than in Mr. H. Addington Bruce's "Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road." It is true, as Boone himself declared, that the history of the Western country in early days was his own history. Over that Wilderness Road which he opened the men who began to build up the Western country passed in thousands and thousands. Rough and ready Boone certainly was, but it is pleasant to know that he was "soft and quiet in his manner, sociable and kind in his feelings, very fond of quiet retirement, of cool self-possession and indomitable perseverance." So at least he appeared to two ministers who saw him in his old age and had expected to find, if not a rough, fierce, uncouth person, at least a fretful and unattractive old man. Mr. Bruce has studied all possible sources of information, including rare copies of early Western newspapers, has intelligently utilized early narratives, and has made out of his material a well-proportioned story full of movement and incident. Not only the heroic figure of the pioneer himself but also "the life and spirit and ideals of the sturdy folk of the frontier" are here admirably delineated. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

The biography of "Louise Chandler Moulton, Poet and Friend," by Lilian Whiting, preserves the delicate balance so desirable in such a work. Mrs. Moulton's character in both phases indicated in the title is clearly disclosed. Her poetic and literary ability seems to have developed naturally and freely as the enriching years passed over her head. Her absolute genius for friendship and her sound estimate of the essentials of social intercourse gave her almost unique opportunities. Promptly recognized in England as a writer of admirable verse, she quickly became a favorite in a circle o literary men and women there. She was free to spend many summers abroad, and was welcomed everywhere. Married very young, she lived in Boston and mingled with an interesting group of people. An incident she relates in connection with her attendance upon Thackeray's lectures on the Four Georges, in 1856, is too pretty and characteristic of the great Englishman not to quote it. She sat close to the platform and listened with ardor. "The last day and the last lecture came, and as Mr. Thackeray came from the platform he bent toward me and said, 'I shall miss the kind, encouraging face that has sat beneath me for so many hours;' and I was too surprised to be able to answer him a word. But it is a memory that has never left me." Her biographer says that Mrs. Moulton's writings seemed always to conform to the standard set by Mr. Aldrich, her friend, who once said to her, "Literature ought to warm the heart, not chill it." Her readers were continuously conscious of a current of sympathetic humanity. She showed real critical power in her reviews and letters on literary topics to the newspapers, and she received many appreciative notes from authors—English, French, and American. Instances of her exquisite helpfulness to those in need are given. "Never did any one make such a fine art of giving as did she." Several letters from James Whitcomb Riley to Mrs. Moulton show him in a charming light—humorous, tender, serious, and stimulating. Mrs. Moulton's friendship for Philip Bourke Marston, whose literary executor she was, is well known. She encouraged young writers, enjoyed the companionship of her contemporaries, lived a useful, full life, and went away into the future questioning still, but, as Riley said, perhaps "He has given you that haunting doubt here that your de-

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light may be all the more ineffable a glory when you find His throne more real a fact than this first world of ours." The book is a treasure-house of well-arranged facts and a sympathetic tribute to the "Poet and Friend" who held so secure a place in many hearts. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

Whether great events make great men or great men make great events, it is certain that the two are so identified that an excellent way to familiarize one's self with history is to read good biography. The latter undertaking is less appalling and the picture is generally more graphic. For this purpose Joseph H. Choate's "Abraham Lincoln and Other Addresses" (The Century Company, New York, $2) and Andrew D. White's "Seven Great Statesmen" (The Century Company, New York, $2.50 net) will serve the general reader admirably. The former and smaller volume consists of addresses given by Mr. Choate when Ambassador to England, in fulfillment of his wise purpose to promote good relations between America and the mother country by doing what he could to make the people better acquainted with the United States, its history, its institutions, and its great men. Many readers who would not find the time to read a history of the United States Supreme Court will be able in an hour to get from Mr. Choate's forty-two pages on that historic tribunal a very good idea of its origin, constitution, power, and services to the country. So readers who would never tackle a history of the formation of the Constitution of the United States, even so popular a one as John Fiske's "The Critical Period of American History," will get in an evening a very fair conception of the difficulties which the framers of that document encountered and of their remarkable success by reading Mr. Choate's address on "Alexander Hamilton." There are many intelligent Americans who are not much better equipped in these phases of American life and history than the average Englishman, and such should find this volume as valuable as a more elaborate history, and more interesting than many a modern novel.

"Seven Great Statesmen" is a much larger work and gives to each character a much fuller treatment. Perhaps it was because he began life as an instructor of youth that Dr. Andrew D. White possesses, in so remarkable a degree in a man of such erudition, the power to write interestingly for unscholarly readers. It is not merely that he is master of a singularly lucid style, not merely that he is so thoroughly familiar with the topics, that he is wholly free from all peril of pedantry, but also that he has a literary artist's sense of dramatic perspective, sees events and men in their true dramatic relations, neither takes for granted the knowledge in his reader which the reader does not possess nor obscures the important facts beneath a multiplicity of unimportant detail. In his biographical sketch of Turgot, the great statesman who preceded the French Revolution, and whose counsels, had they been followed, might have prevented it, Dr. White makes clear the selfish folly of the King and Queen, and of the hierarchy and nobility, which made the tragedy inevitable. Not even H. Morse Stephens in the first volume of his "French Revolution" makes clearer the causes which led to the Revolution, though he does so, of course, in much greater detail. Nor do we think that Trevelyan in his fascinating volume on the Italian revolution, or the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco in "The Liberation of Italy," has made so clear the intellectual and spiritual entombment from which that liberation was a resurrection as Dr. White has done in his brief biography of Cavour. Even more true is it that to understand the life of Bismarck is to understand the creation of the German Empire, for it was preeminently the work of Bismarck. The reader of this single volume will get in a course of winter evening readings a better insight into the great events and the great human forces in European history than he would be likely to do in a more ambitious course in mediæval and modern history.

The name of John Albert Johnson has become a part of American history. There have been cases of poor boys—Lincoln, Grant, Garfield—who have risen to the highest office in the gift of the Nation. Had he lived, the boy whose friends knew him as "Johnny Johnson" would perhaps have risen to that place, too. The circumstances of his boyhood were equally pathetic with those of the men above named. Despite untoward material conditions, he was no average child of immigrant parents. The Scandinavian element in the United States produced in him its fine flower. Whether as boy or man, Johnson combined in really exquisite degree the union of pluck and grit with humor and kindliness. Who can read unmoved the pages in which Messrs. Day and Knappen, in their "Life of John Albert Johnson," describe the early struggles of their hero? Who can remain untouched at the boy's devotion to his mother, a woman who had borne so much and so bravely? The proudest day of his life, as he said, was when his wages were advanced and he put them into his mother's lap with the assurance to her that henceforth she need take in no more washing. She had been supporting herself in that way, and her boy had done all he could to take care of her and his brothers and sisters, cruelly abandoned by a drunken father. In his thirteenth year he hired himself out at a salary of ten dollars a month as a general all-round boy in a country store. Most of these wages went to the family's support: with an increase of wage he supported the family entirely. He kept them going mentally, too, by reading to them o' nights, and further kept their spirits up by telling them stories and by singing songs, so that, when finally he "went on the road," his little

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brothers and sisters used to long for the Saturday night, when he would return and they would hear the familiar voice again. If we dwell on this early period of Johnson's life, it is because it was the character-building time. His later period as editor and legislator and Governor was perhaps only the logical result. In the present volume the pages which have to do with the boyhood of Governor Johnson are the pages best worth reading. The pages which recount the influence of the Norwegian-Swedish element in America, good as those pages are in themselves, might well, in another edition, be expunged in the interest of condensation. But every American boy ought to read at least that part of the present volume which describes the boyhood of a peculiarly engaging, gentle, sane, and manly man. (Forbes & Co., Chicago. $2.)

China is certainly changing, and the title "Changing China" is felicitous as applied to the text prepared by the Rev. Lord William Cecil and now published in book form. Lord William is a son of the late Marquis of Salisbury, the English Prime Minister. At the request of an influential committee of graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, Lord William has made two visits to China to inquire into the most suitable site for an educational mission on Christian lines in that country. The British committee desire to found their mission on lines of co-operation rather than of competition. Their ideal is that of a union university, as being both more economical and influential than many smaller establishments working without method. They would found not an English but an international university, to be something like Oxford and Cambridge, having a number of colleges or hostels under the control of a central university authority. As a clergyman Lord William's prime endeavor has been to secure co-operation among the various mission bodies. While it is not proposed that the central university shall teach religion, the different hostels or colleges could be established by different religious bodies and would be free to teach whatever doctrinal standards they choose. Of course this university idea must have been ever present with the author of "Changing China" in his travels about the Empire, yet his book contains—despite a not too conspicuous literary value—many an interesting comment on Chinese manners and customs and on the character of the Chinese as a race. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $3.)

By their very titles two books recently published show that they are typical of religious thought in these days. One is Dr. W. E. Chadwick's "Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity" (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, $1.50), the other is Dr. Cunningham's "Christianity and Social Questions" (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 75 cents). The time has gone when it could be assumed that religion was a matter that concerned merely the individual's destiny. Now whoever bases any argument on that proposition cannot be sure that his hearers will not part company with him at the very start. Nothing shows how far we have departed from that time than the number of books that are continually appearing devoted to the consideration of Christianity as an ideal and impulse for society. These two volumes are both English in origin, but may be profitably read by Americans. Dr. Cunningham approaches the subject from the point of view of general social conditions; Dr. Chadwick from particular problems of the present. Dr. Cunningham's first chapter, for example, is entitled "Conditions of Animal Life." Dr. Chadwick begins his first lecture (for his book is an expansion of the Hulsean lectures he delivered at Cambridge) by referring to such common relationships as that of husband and wife, buyer and seller, employer and employed. Of the two, Dr. Cunningham's is more that of the thoughtful scholar, Dr. Chadwick's that of the practical Anglican minister.

There are some kinds of serious books that have a power to arouse interest somewhat similar to that which fiction has—good biography, for instance, or vivid historical narrative. Under this category can be found certain books on psychology. For some readers Professor Mary Whiton Calkins's "First Book in Psychology" will be primarily interesting. This is because psychology, like fiction, treats of our common human nature. The particular brand of psychology in which this book deals is "self-psychology." Modern psychology has inevitably become entangled with metaphysics, and there is some metaphysics lurking around the corners of this book; but it is mainly in the appendix. Most of the book is concerned with such common and endlessly entertaining questions as whether we can blindfolded tell the difference between minced duck and minced beef, whether there is any difference between pain and the feeling of extreme heat, and whether there is anything in common between the worship of a fetish and the prayer of a saint. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.90.)

"A Beginner's History of Philosophy," by Professor Herbert Ernest Cushman, of Tufts College, is put upon the background of geography and of literary and political history. Philosophical doctrines may be studied either in isolation from other interests or in their vital relation to the conditions of the times in which they were brought forth. The latter is, at least for beginners, the preferable way, as promoting the correlation and assimilation of philosophical knowledge with other knowledge already gained. This is the way adopted by Professor Cushman as the result of experience in teaching. The history of philosophy linked, as it is by him, with the general movement of the world of thought and action is far from being arid and uninteresting. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

A LETTER FROM JULIA WARD HOWE

Only a few days before her death Julia Ward Howe wrote the following letter to The Outlook. Our readers, we believe, will be interested in this, not only because of the facts which she reports as to the opinions of clergymen, Sunday-school superintendents, and editors concerning woman's suffrage, but also because it must be one of the last communications which she wrote.—THE EDITORS.

There has been some discussion in your columns about the practical workings of equal suffrage in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, the four States where women vote. I have lately sent out a circular letter of inquiry as to its good or bad results. The letter was sent to all the Episcopal clergymen in these four States, to all the Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian ministers, to all the Sunday-school superintendents among the Congregationalists (the other denominations do not publish the names of their superintendents in their religious year-books), and to the editors of the newspapers. Hundreds of answers were received. These have just been tabulated, and the outcome is very gratifying to the friends of equal rights.

The replies of the Episcopal clergy are favorable, more than two to one; those of the Baptist ministers, seven to one; of the Congregational ministers, nearly eight to one; of the Methodists, more than ten to one; and of the Presbyterians, more than eleven to one. In each denomination a few are in doubt.

Among the Sunday-school superintendents replying, one is opposed and one in doubt. All the rest are favorable.

Of the editors, a small fraction are in doubt. Those who express a positive opinion either way give favorable reports in the ratio of more than eight to one.

These figures speak for themselves.

JULIA WARD HOWE,
President of the New England Woman Suffrage Association.

Melville Station, Newport, Rhode Island.

OWNERSHIP OR CONTROL

I cannot share the perturbed and hostile views with regard to the activities of Mr. Roosevelt held by many of my associates, being reluctant to undervalue or forget that, however blunt a critic, he has aroused us all to a keener sense of our civic duties. I believe that in the present New York campaign we had best attend to the business at hand and confine our thoughts to the relative merits of the candidates. Mr. Roosevelt is not a candidate, neither will Mr. Stimson's defeat necessarily involve the downfall of Mr. Roosevelt. While not confused as to the real issues of our State campaign, personally favoring Mr. Stimson, may I not digress from our clearly restricted State questions to consider one somewhat remote, but of great National interest. What constitutes the New Nationalism of which Mr. Roosevelt speaks?

In your interesting editorial of October 8, entitled "Dr. Woodrow Wilson's P icies," you quote Dr. Wilson as saying:

> The indisputable fact is that the Federal Government has, in recent years, been launched into many fields of activity, even the existence of which previous generations did not foresee. I, for one, am very jealous of the separate powers and authority of the individual States of the Union. But it is no longer possible, with the modern combinations of industry and transportation, to discriminate the interests of the States as they could once be discriminated. Interests once local and separate have become unified and National. They must be treated by the National Government.

And you close your remarks as follows:

> It is, that all the properties which belong to the people of the United States, and all the commercial operations between the several States, and therefore transcending the limits of the individual States, should be left under the absolute control and authority of the Federal Government; and those matters, and those only, should be left to the separate powers and authority of the individual States which concern only the citizens of the individual States.

In a recent trip across the continent I took such opportunities as were presented to discuss the political situation with men of all sorts and conditions. Almost to a man—and they were reasonable, broad-minded men, by no means fanatics—they were stanch admirers of Theodore Roosevelt. Their admiration, however, did not extend to the point of favoring a third term. They all coincided in the opinion that, despite his temperamental faults and eccentricities, Mr. Roosevelt has been a force for good, if only in awakening the Nation to the stern truth that the individual freedom upon which we have reared this great Republic is being sorely abused.

Let us, they say, have less selfishness, more generosity, dictated not by philanthropy but by practical common sense.

Although these men held such views, I found none who went so far as to approve Mr. Roosevelt's possible indorsement of Federal ownership.

The Outlook defines "New Nationalism" as meaning the absolute control and authority of the Federal Government over all commercial operations between the several States. Can absolute control mean other than ownership? How long would the business man consent to run a private enterprise which is under the absolute control of the Federal Government? Does The Outlook favor Federal ownership of the railway, of the telephone, of the telegraph, and other inter-State industries?

From the standpoint of a layman in politics, I venture the opinion that, while the American people strongly advocate Federal supervision within reason, they just as

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strongly draw the line at Federal ownership, logically contending that, whatever else may be said against such ownership, the constant changing of officials, rendered necessary by what they deem to be our ideal form of government, bars our Government from successfully conducting any business enterprise.

If the Republican party, in its laudable desire to be progressive, adopts extreme and revolutionary measures, we may look for its dissolution.

When all is said, while opposed to the absolute control by the Government of any business enterprise, believing that eventually it must lead to Federal ownership, I cannot but regard Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic discussion of the general subject as salutary, because, in bringing home to us the possibility of Federal ownership, he is clearly demonstrating that the only way to guard ourselves against it is to be more mindful of our duties and responsibilities, whether individual or corporate.

Permit me once again to ask, Does not absolute Federal control mean eventual Federal ownership? If not, how far does it stop short of ownership?

JOHN HARSEN RHOADES.

45 Wall Street, New York City.

[Mr. Rhoades, the writer of this letter, is a prominent New York banker and is connected with the New York Stock Exchange. We are glad to print this inquiry because it undoubtedly reflects the desire for clear thinking on this subject on the part of many people, and particularly on the part of many public-spirited men whose vocation brings before them practical questions of finance. In the discussion of the questions which Mr. Rhoades raises it is well to keep in mind certain distinctions. There are four policies which the Government, either State or Federal, may follow with relation to the railways: (1) A policy of *laissez faire*. This is virtually the policy that was pursued in the early days of the railways, although even then there was a rudimentary recognition of the fact that the railways were public highways. This *laissez faire* policy has long been abandoned. (2) A policy of regulation. This is the policy prevailing in the United States. It is subject to great variation. The regulation may be merely nominal, as it has been in such a State as New Hampshire, or it may amount to strict control, as in Wisconsin and New York. The tendency on the part both of the States and of the Federal Government is toward closer supervision. (3) A policy of governmental ownership and private operation. This policy has not been adopted in this country with regard to steam railways, but it has been followed by New York City in relation to its subways, and it is not inconceivable that it should be applied by State and Federal Government to railways. (4) A policy of governmental ownership and operation. This is the policy which has been adopted by most civilized countries of the world, ranging from the monarchical governments of Austria and Germany to the democratic governments of Switzerland and Australia. The United States stands with Great Britain, Spain, and Turkey in virtually so far declining to adopt in any way this policy. The only exception with regard to the United States is the railway in the Panama Canal Zone. There is nothing which necessarily leads from one of these policies to another. It is perfectly clear to us that the policy of *laissez faire* has proved, and must invariably prove, inadequate. What other policy should be substituted for that depends upon two things: first, the circumstances surrounding a particular case; and, second, the attitude of the railway managers themselves. Strict supervision, amounting to control, so far from leading toward governmental ownership and operation, is, to our mind, the greatest preventive of governmental ownership and operation. Those who advocate governmental ownership and operation recognize this to be the fact, and some of them deplore the tendency to strict supervision because they believe that tendency will delay the coming of what they advocate. The Outlook believes that, in the United States at least, strict regulation affords the best means for securing that equitable use of the railways for all the people which is essential for the welfare of the country. There is no more reason why such control over the railways should bring governmental ownership than that such control as both the States and the Nation exercise over the banks should lead to governmental banking.—THE EDITORS.]

A CORRECTION

Will you permit me to call your attention to a slight misstatement which occurred in your account of the honorary degrees awarded on the occasion of the inauguration of President Burton at Smith College recently? The degree of Doctor of Science was awarded to Dr. Florence Rena Sabin, of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, and to Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The degree of Doctor of Humanities was awarded to Miss Harriet Boyd Hawes, of Washington, and to Miss Caroline A. Yale, President of the Blaikie School for the Deaf at Northampton. So far, this is in accordance with your report; but the degree of Doctor of Laws was awarded to Miss Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke; to Miss Julia H. Gulliver, President of Rockford College; to Miss Mary Whiton Calkins, head of the Department of Psychology and Philosophy at Wellesley; to Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House; and to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe.

MARY D. CHAMBERS.

Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois.

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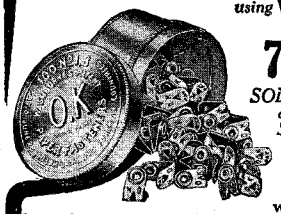

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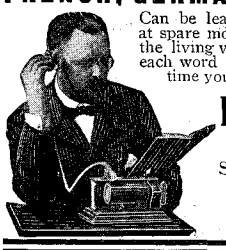
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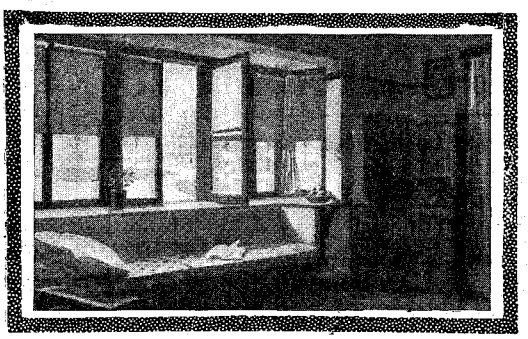

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